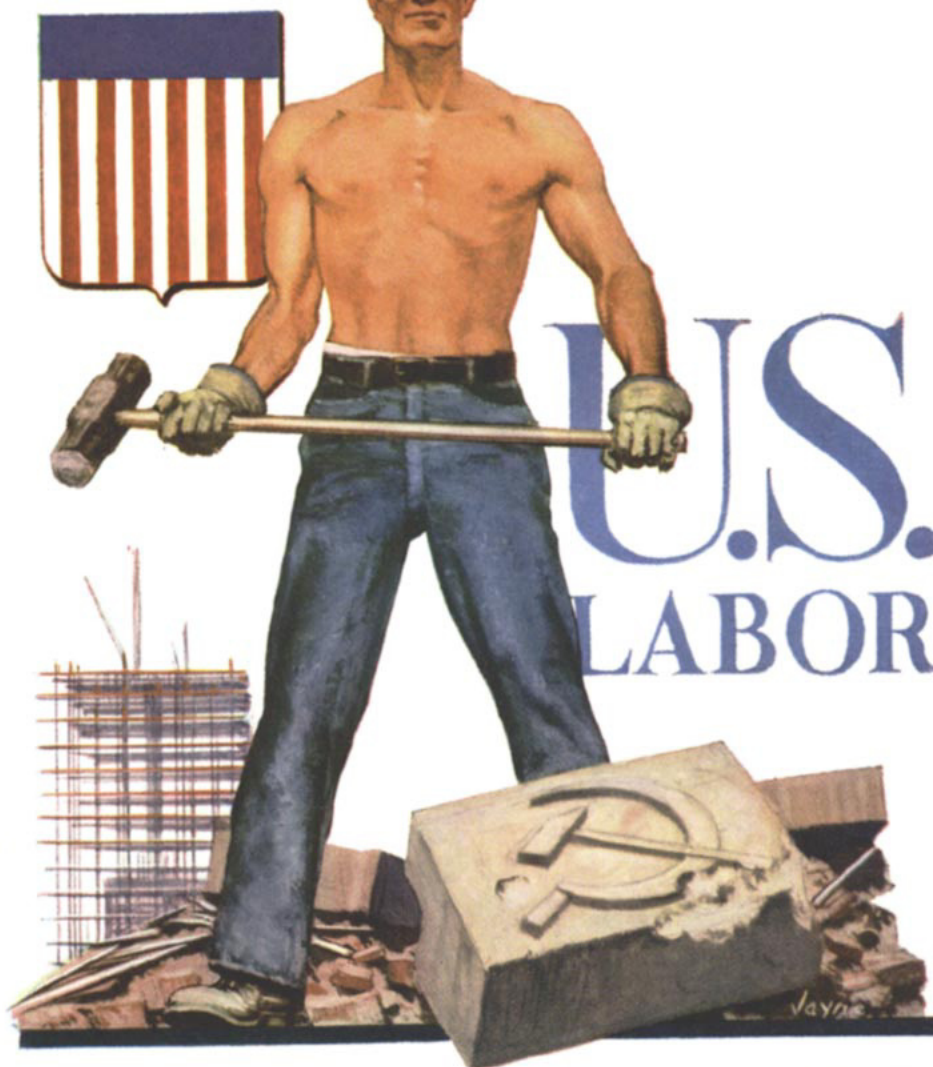


AMERICAN MERCURY

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MARCH 1958

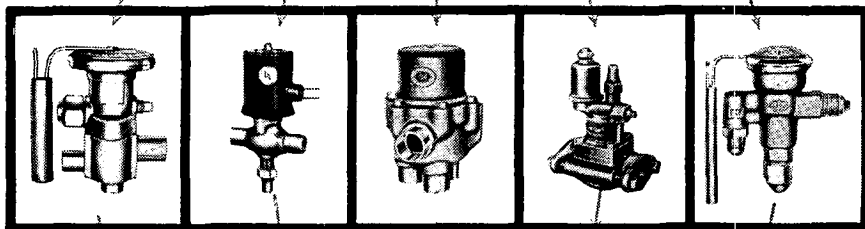
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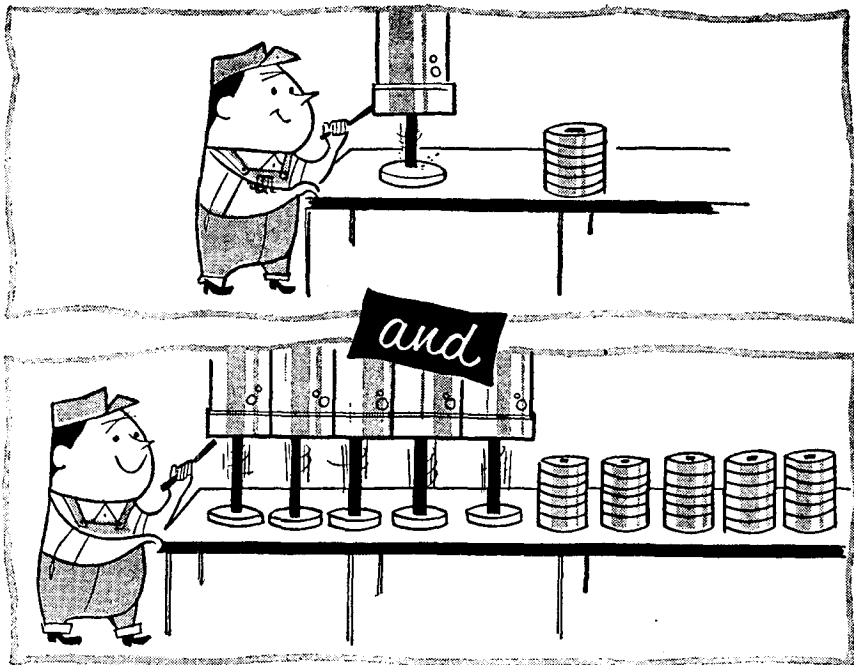


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MARCH 1958

VOLUME LXXXVI NO. 410

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Labor Should Be Free

<i>Senator William F. Knowland</i>	5
<i>I Want ILO Investigated.....Gordon H. Scherer</i>	10
<i>Why Not a Consumers Strike?.... E. R. Martin</i>	15
<i>If Hoffa: Why Not Reuther!.....Politician</i>	21
<i>The Supreme Court. Senators Jenner and Eastland</i>	26
<i>The Rights of a State.....Robert E. Lee</i>	30
<i>Godlessness of Communism..Archbishop Cushing</i>	32
<i>The Brotherhood.....Hilary Grey</i>	35
<i>Brainwashing the American Public.....</i>	43
<i>Communism in Israel.....Fayez A. Sayegh</i>	47
<i>Beach Head: 55 B.C.... Edward A. Dieckmann</i>	58
<i>Rural Schools.....Russell Kirk</i>	65
<i>The Carrier Cabinet.....Alfred K. Allan</i>	73
<i>The Great Greek Abduction.....Ben Berkey</i>	76
<i>GSA's Phony Front.....Max Finley</i>	81
<i>The Forgotten War.....Charles Oxtan</i>	86
<i>Coffin That Made History.....James C. Butler</i>	92
<i>Dear American Friends.....Boris Solonevitch</i>	97
<i>Let's Stop The Defensive.....Clarence Manion</i>	100
<i>Communist Campaign Against Our Immigration System.....Richard Arens</i>	102
<i>In the Mercury's Opinion.....Russell Maguire</i>	111
<i>Social Security.....Monroe W. Karmin</i>	113
<i>Why Not Spank Children.....Wayne Kilbourne</i>	119
<i>Talk About Civil Rights.....Tom Anderson</i>	121
<i>Conservative Patriots Can Organize Will Watson</i>	124
<i>Britain: Socialist Decay.....Derek Sones</i>	130
<i>Guest Editorial.....San Diego Evening Tribune</i>	136
<i>Memo of the Month.....Frank S. Tavenner</i>	138
<i>By The Book.....Cecil Curtis</i>	140
<i>The Deadly Parallel of China</i>	

Richard McLaughlin 144

Do You Know • 41

Book Shelf • 144

This Is What They Said • 128

College Forum • 150

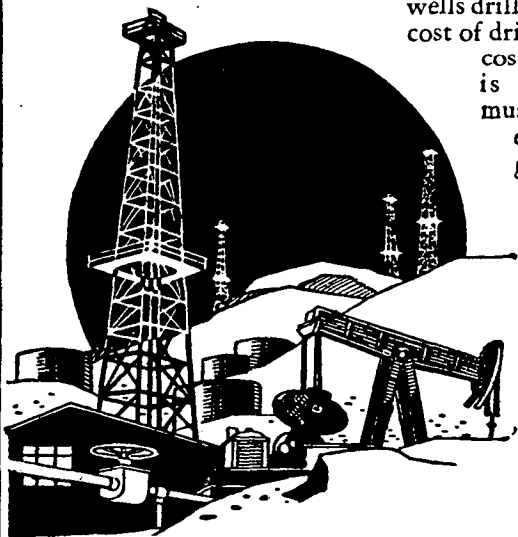
Mercury Forum • 155

Cover by DeWitt Whistler Jayne

We are thankful to be a producer of oil and gas which provide more than half the total U.S. energy today. The oil and gas industry, because of our competitive enterprise system, has been able to discover large reserves of oil and gas, thereby being a big contributor in improving the standards of living in this great country of ours.

This has been done even though, out of every 9 wildcat wells, 8 are dry holes. One out of every 44 wildcat wells finds new oil reserves equivalent to national demand for about 4 hours. And *one* out of 991 has enough new oil to match *more* than a week's consumption. One-fourth of all productive wells drilled never return the cost of drilling. The average

cost of a wildcat well is \$123,000. There must be incentives to encourage these great risks.



It is important to every American citizen that any threats to the oil and gas industry which would endanger the security and defense of our country be disposed of. Presently, this can be done by:

1. Demanding that rights given to the States by our Constitution be returned to them.
2. Insisting that excessive oil imports be limited to 15 days per month, being the same basis as domestic oil producers are permitted.
3. Continuing depletion allowance.

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34TH YEAR

A M E R I C A N

MERCURY

MARCH 1958



LABOR

Should Be Free in Our Republic

by

Senator William F. Knowland

LONG AGO I learned that one of the penalties of public life is that abuse and deliberate misrepresentation of one's views and actions too often take place. It is one reason many able men and women will not offer themselves for public elective office. I have, however, great faith that the people can see through the political smog created by designing partisans and will separate fact from fiction. I want to outline some basic principles in which I believe.

As a free people we must always be on guard against the concentration of excessive power in government, industry or in labor.

After much suffering and sacrifice, our basic American freedoms

were achieved. We were able to establish and maintain, up to now, the concept of a government *by consent of the governed*. Power without responsibility is detrimental to the individual and to the preservation of the free way of life. The Constitution of the United States, with its guarantees of religious, economic and political freedom, was instituted by men who knew that the power of government had to be diffused, by men who knew that checks and balances were necessary if freedom for the individual was to be preserved.

At the turn of the century, as a matter of national policy, it became necessary to limit the expansive

power of big industry. The passage of the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts established traffic signals along our economic highway to protect the American people.

There has been much misrepresentation of my views regarding labor-management relations by those who seek to confuse rather than to inform. I believe that the right of an individual to join a labor organization should be protected by State and Federal law. I have supported such legislation both as a member of the California State Legislature and in the Congress of the United States.

I believe in collective bargaining. It is and will remain protected by law. The right of collective bargaining calls for *responsible* conduct on the part of management and labor. It calls for negotiation in good faith. Collective bargaining should not and must not degenerate into coercive bludgeoning.

No group in industry or in

labor should have the power to strangle the economic life of 170 million Americans. This is too much power for responsible leaders in industry or labor to want, and far too much power for irresponsible men to be allowed to have.

Just as monopolistic power in government cannot be countenanced by a free people, so it is true that monopolistic industrial or labor-union power cannot be allowed unchecked control over a vital segment of our national life. Neither industrial nor labor organizations should be above the law, or be given powers which no non-governmental

Labor racketeers will intensify their attempts to smear the Taft-Hartley federal statute as a "slave labor law" but it was the Communist-dictated Wagner Act that actually made slaves of U.S. working men and women. It is up to citizens, in every State, to meet the challenge of the campaign to keep them working-slaves, through *compulsory* unionism, while this Congress is in session. U.S. Labor must win an *Open Door Law*, from Washington, and in each State, that frees us from having to join, pay tribute to and obey the whims of any labor boss in order to get, or hold, an American job.

agency should have.

The unions of the Scandinavian countries are based on voluntary and compulsory membership. The late American labor leader, Samuel Gompers, supported voluntary not compulsory unionism.

We are all concerned, or should be, regarding the rights of American citizens under our Con-

stitution. Our *right* of employment is a basic civil right of the first magnitude.

Compulsory unionism denies the worker a freedom of choice.

(1) It denies to millions of men and women the opportunity to earn a living except by agreeing to pay dues, initiation fees and assessments, and to submit to the discipline of a private organization.

(2) It makes captive those of the membership who may oppose the economic or political policies of the union or may violently object to the coercive methods or the corruption of the leadership, yet cannot resign without losing their ability to work for a decent livelihood.

What American would want to live in a community without churches? Yet who would want to join a church except by free con-

sent? To contribute except by voluntary action? To remain a member if his convictions dictated otherwise?

So it is with civic, veteran, farm

and fraternal groups. The type of leadership, the benefits spiritual or material, the social or recreational assets of the organization are the criteria upon which free men and women should make their *voluntary* determination to join, to remain, or to leave. Why should industrial or business workers be denied the same freedom of choice? Compulsory membership, in effect, passes the taxing or disciplining power of a sovereign

Many citizens may not have known, or now have forgotten, that the notorious Wagner Act, which Senator Robert Taft was at last able to erase from American legislation, was written *for* Senator Wagner (of New York) *by* Communists in Manhattan. Manhattan's Wagner was but the front for introducing this alien ideology and "law" into the Congressional Record. It was during the life of this nefarious "law" that racketeers and subversives were able to get control of U.S. working men and women, bleed them—by check-off dues the subversives could spend as they wished—and make them actual labor *slaves*. Many Union rank and file members thought that when Franklin Roosevelt ordered his White House Secretariat to "clear it with Sydney" that *labor* (working men and women) had achieved power in Washington.

Those days, happily, are past. But U.S. Labor is still captive; *compulsory* unionism is still with too many of us, robbing us of our free choice of jobs or places where we wish to live and work. How long will American working citizens put up with *this*?

government on to a private organization.

Those who do not contribute to the United Crusade, Red Cross, Cancer or Tuberculosis Societies

or belong to one of our two great political parties, benefit nevertheless. To that extent they are "free riders." But would we want to substitute *compulsion* for voluntary giving and participation?

The disclosures before the special Senate Labor and Industry Investigating Committee were shocking to the previously uninformed public and to the membership of many labor organizations. It was shown that there are both labor and business leaders who will not of their own free will or morality, abide by rules of fair play.

I believe the rank and file of the members of labor organizations need additional protection, and toward that end I am having congressional legislation prepared. Such legislation, which I call "Labor's Bill of Rights," will include the following points:

1. The membership should be able to elect its officers by *secret* ballot and to have votes so cast be the only ones that are counted.

2. When their officers have become incompetent, have shown lack of integrity in the handling of union funds, or for other reasons the union members have determined that the officers should no longer represent them, the membership should have the power to *recall* the officers by *secret ballot*.

3. The rank and file of the membership of a labor organization should not be taken out on strike

except by a majority *secret* ballot of the membership. Certainly, the economic consequences to the worker, his wife and family, to the community, the State and the Republic can be of such serious consequences that the members should have the power to make that determination by secret ballot.

4. The administration of the welfare funds of the union members should be protected in the same way that bank deposits and insurance funds are protected.

5. The initiation fees, dues and assessments of members should be fully protected and handled with the most strict accountability and integrity.

All union financial transactions should be audited, and a full accounting should be made to the membership.

6. Union members should have the power to correct arbitrary and unlawful acts of union officials without fear of retaliation. Minority members should have the same kind of safeguards secured as for minority stockholders in similar situations.

7. National officers should not have the power to take over local unions *without* membership approval, except for limited periods and under adequate safeguards to the local membership. Nor should they, by creation of "paper locals" or extensive setting up of trusteeships over local unions, be able to perpetuate themselves in power.

THESE are issues of concern to the public at large as well as to the individual worker. They need to be raised and met.

Because I have raised these issues of voluntary union membership and a "Bill of Rights for Labor" I have been marked by some for political liquidation. If I never hold public office another day of my life I shall not cease to bring this issue before the people of my Republic and my State.

In the meeting of the problems of our generation, we must show the same courage and common sense as the men who gave us our Republic and, in the past, have helped to maintain it. As Republicans, Democrats or Independents we can all join in subscribing to the oath of Thomas Jefferson when he said:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man."



Sidney Hillman was one of the incorporators of the Communist Party in the U. S. Hillman was the Russian born leader of the abortive 1905 Communist Revolution in Russia.

At the National Convention in 1922 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the workers were told: "You, today, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, by the adoption of a resolution with reference to political action, have laid the basis for a movement in the United States that will ultimately result in the capture of the American Government by the workers, for the workers, and in the interest of the workers."

At that Convention Sidney Hillman said: "*I am happy to read to you a telegram from one of our local unions in New York City, Local 161, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: 'Fraternal greetings to the Fifth Biennial Convention. Brothers, we the undersigned, wish to express our feeling with congratulations on the proposition of financing Russian clothing mills. We also appeal to all members of our organization to put aside their political views and support this to a successful end. Fraternally yours, Local 161, A.C.W. of A., Louis Labiento, Secretary.'*"

Although Hillman told the convention that "we already have messages that it (this Convention) has expressed the spirit and desires of our membership all over," the native born American Labor Leaders of the United States did *not* concur in the view of the alien revolutionist labor operators. The able leader, Samuel Gompers, said on May 1, 1922, "Nothing would constitute a more needless and base betrayal of civilization than the recognition of this bolshevik tyranny." The Chicago Tribune of August 25, 1922 reported Gompers as warning: "The Germano-Anglo-American bankers are financing the blowing up of America."

I WANT THE
ILO
INVESTIGATED
BY CONGRESS

Why pay $\frac{1}{4}$ of an organization's cost
when we have only $\frac{1}{78}$ of the votes?

by Congressman Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio

JUST WHAT is the International Labor Organization?

Most of us know that it is a holdover from the League of Nations, that it is now one of the agencies of the United Nations. It holds an annual conference each June in Geneva, attended by representatives of labor, employers, and governments from each of its 78 member countries. It is presumed to concern itself with the welfare and the "standards of living" of workingmen all over the world.

We were told by the U.S. Labor Department, the State Department, and various international idealists, that the ILO was a "vital instrument" for the preservation of world peace. But just what is the ILO, and what does it *do*?

Fortunately, we have now available factual information on this subject, gathered from people who have had experience in ILO conferences. William L. McGrath, of

my own city of Cincinnati, served for six years as a member of the United States employer delegation to the ILO, and has also served a three-year term as a member of its governing body.

Mr. McGrath's reports on the actual workings of the ILO have aroused the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, which nominate the employer delegation to the ILO, to the point that these two organizations have seriously questioned the advisability of further participation in the ILO. They sent a delegation this year under protest, only at the urgent insistence of the Government—and have recommended that Congress conduct a searching joint investigation as to the advisability of the United States continuing to remain a member.

The ILO has long since ceased to be a body devoted to the affairs

of labor; it has, instead, become a political forum and *propaganda agency* devoted chiefly to fostering the philosophy of socialism, communism, and the nationalization of industry. To further its purpose it uses the "convention" device. ILO conventions can be, and are, used as the braintrust for specific socialistic legislation in countries all over the world. Left-wing political orators in the U.S. and elsewhere use them to support their campaign proposals; this propaganda is usually contrary to the philosophies and principles of the United States.

WE, THAT IS, the great majority of us, believe in freedom for the individual; the ILO is dedicated to mastery by government. The underlying intent of practically every ILO proposal put forward in recent years has been along the lines of *more power for government, more control by government, more regimentation by government.*

The ILO has drafted a proposed international law to the effect that all private employment agencies should be put out of business, and all employment placement should be concentrated in the hands of government. If government can tell people where they must go for jobs, government can direct the destiny of mankind.

In 1955 the ILO passed a "recommendation" to the effect that in

each member country the public authorities, meaning government, should take over the education of all youngsters on the farm, providing them with textbooks, and teachers, prescribing examination requirements, and providing buildings, transportation, equipment and so forth. This was a blueprint of the Communist technique of forcing young minds into the pattern prescribed by government.

The ILO also enacts "resolutions." One of its resolutions, passed under the pretext of dealing with unemployment, prescribed that government should take over production, allocation of markets, distribution of products, price fixing, wage fixing, financing—in fact, all phases of the economic system—and in addition, prescribed how workers should use their leisure time!

The ILO has what it calls a program of "technical assistance." Theoretically, the ILO is supposed to send out experts to underdeveloped countries to help them increase productivity. But a large share of the technical assistance projects undertaken by the ILO turn out to be projects having to do with giving government a greater voice in the affairs of men.

The Socialists took control of the ILO some years ago, when socialism took a firm hold in Europe. The underdeveloped countries of the Far East, impressed with Socialist ideas, followed the

European pattern. Then, in 1954, the Communists came back into the ILO: Russia returned as three nations—the USSR, the Ukraine, and Byelorussia—and began to bring its satellites back in full strength. Today the Soviet countries have a solid block of 36 potential votes in the ILO, and we, the U.S., have only four.

The Communist invasion of the ILO has operated to push the nature of ILO's annual proposals further to the left. While the Socialists and the Communists compete for followers, they nevertheless agree on certain basic theories, such as nationalization of industry and government regimentation.

The net result is that today the ILO is spreading the doctrines of socialism and collectivism all over the world.

The U.S. Labor Department and the State Department say that the ILO represents an "opportunity" to sell the American way of life and the competitive system to the rest of the world. But have our government delegates *ever* stood up at an ILO conference and made such an attempt? The answer is "No."

Some private employer and worker delegates from the still free countries of the world have tried to have the so-called employer and worker delegates from the Soviet nations disqualified, on the ground that they cannot possibly represent free associations of em-

ployers and workers, being merely stooges of their governments and the Communist Party. But has the United States Government officially helped in this effort?

Again, the answer is "No." Our Government's policy has been simply to accept the fallacious doctrine of "coexistence." The Socialists and the Communists have been gaining increasing headway in the ILO; the influence of the United States has been growing less and less.

Hour after hour, in the plenary sessions, the Red delegates condemn our way of life and make frequent abusive references to the United States—we officially just sit and take it. Thus, this is an international forum in which free enterprise is damned by a continuous flow of leftwing and Communist oratory.

THIS BRINGS me to the question of the proposed increase in our annual contribution to the ILO. Congress is asked to give more money, again, to an organization in which our influence has been growing steadily less, and which is becoming increasingly successful in selling the rest of the world the very principles to which we, as a people, if not as a government, are most opposed.

The United States pays 25 percent of the ILO budget: the other 77 nations pay the rest. We bear

one-fourth of the cost, and have one-seventy-eighth of the votes.

Sixty-four member nations of the ILO pay a total of 24.07 percent of its budget. In short, 64 nations, all rolled together, pay less than the United States, yet those 64 nations, which include the smaller, underdeveloped and Socialist nations, can completely outvote the United States on any issue.

Why should our country provide additional financing to an organization which is dedicated to the destruction of the very principles for which our country stands?

There are people who may feel that the interests of the United States are well protected in the ILO because Mr. David Morse, Director General of the ILO, is an American citizen. Back in the Roosevelt era he was General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, then became Under Secretary of Labor. He headed the Government delegation to the ILO, and, in 1948, was elected its Director General. This was a natural progression, the implications of which you can judge for yourselves. When the Russians came back into the ILO, bringing their satellites with them in full force, Mr. Morse took a very "factual" view of the situation. After all, he said, they represented a substantial increase to the ILO budget.

AT THE May meeting of the governing body this year, the question arose as to the reelection of Mr. Morse as Director General. His term was to expire in 1958. The governing body voted to extend his term—and U.S. taxpayers' subsidies—for five more years.

Speaking in support of that proposal, Mr. Arutiunian, representing the Government of the USSR, said he wished to stress the fact that Mr. Morse had been personally responsible to a very large extent for "certain developments in ILO activities in recent years"; that, during Mr. Morse's directorship, ILO had become a universal organization, which made it possible to organize cooperation between countries which had different social and economic systems. Following his reelection, Mr. Morse "hinted" that he would submit formal proposals soon for full ILO recognition of employer delegates for Communist countries.

When he assumed his office, Mr. Morse took the following oath: "I solemnly undertake to exercise in all loyalty, discretion, and conscience the functions that have been entrusted to me as Director General of the International Labor Office, to discharge those functions and regulate any conduct with the interests of the International Labor Organization *alone* in view, not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of

my duties from any government or other authority external to the International Labor Organization." The fact that Mr. Morse is an American citizen does not make him, in the ILO, an actual "representative" of the interests of the United States, but of the ideologies of the majority ILO membership, and such ideologies are contrary to the philosophy of the public of the United States.

Another individual, currently in the limelight in connection with ILO affairs, is Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Last year, when the NAM and the United States chamber launched a serious blast of criticism of the ILO, the administrative branch of the U.S. Government, under pressure from Congress, set up an independent committee composed of college professors to "look into" the matter. Mr. Johnson was the chairman.

The Johnson committee reported that although there were many things wrong with the ILO, it was nevertheless a "glorious institution." I have always been intrigued by the unfailing instinct of people in the Federal Government to always select a committee chairman who will come up with a report which suits their purposes. Mr. Johnson showed up this June as one of the "advisors" on the United States Government delegation to the ILO Conference in Geneva.

It is now high time that the Congress of the United States turned the spotlight on the ILO. We have not been backward in turning the spotlight on organized labor or industry at home. Why should we hesitate about the ILO? When Dave Beck was wanted by Senator McClellan's committee, the story was that he could not come because he was on his way to an ILO meeting in Hamburg. I believe the time has come for Congress to take a good look at ILO.

EITHER the United States should be more effective in the ILO, or we should get out of it. The answer can only be obtained by really digging into the subject. That is why we should have a joint Congressional investigation.

Mr. McGrath, who has devoted many months of time and effort to the ILO, was once told by a member of the State Department that, as to ILO matters, there were "global" considerations a mere businessman could not be expected to understand.

Perhaps there are global considerations no mere Congressman can be expected to understand. If so, I would like to know what they are.

That is why I want ILO investigated by the Congress—and not merely whitewashed by some "Committee" of the Departments of State or Labor.



by E. R. Martin

**The money *In Your Pocket*
controls prices**

ACROSS a table, representatives of a union of milk wagon drivers discuss new wage demands with officials representing various big distributing companies. After a series of crises threatening a milk famine, the companies settle with the union and the price of milk goes up once again.

Members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union decide it is time for another round of wage hikes and present their demands to manufacturers. Because David Dubinsky's union gets along so amicably with dress man-

ufacturers, there is virtually no trouble. The employees get an average 15 cents an hour increase. Almost immediately, sales tags on wearing apparel are marked up an average 7 percent.

In Detroit, Walter Reuther starts his campaign for a 30-hour week and other concessions. How many of his current demands he will obtain from the motor industry cannot be foretold but you may be sure of one thing: "labor's gains" will be added onto the price of the next car you buy.

Nowadays when "labor" and "management" sit down to consider a new contract, the routine has certain aspects of a TV wres-

tling match. We all know that the contenders will waltz around for a specified number of rounds, snarling at each other, and now and then appearing to commit mayhem. In the end, the script demands that management sink slowly to the mat, an agonized look on its face, but the public has stopped shedding tears for the fallen gladiator. It is generally understood that the two deadly enemies will part on cordial terms, in better financial condition than when they started their act. The public will pay for the exhibition.

Looking at the procedure from the standpoint of labor and management, it has a great deal to recommend it. Strikes can be very costly, and they have a way of becoming downright messy when a company decides it has a right to keep operating in spite of picket lines. Why risk a strike when it is a safe gamble that consumers are not likely to cause any trouble, no matter how often they are gouged by increasing prices?

DO YOU KNOW any woman who has ever told a shopkeeper he can send his higher-priced dresses back to Dave Dubinsky and the manufacturers who meekly give in to ILGWU pressures? Have you ever even thought of notifying the driver of your milk wagon and the company that hires him that you are making a drastic cut in the amount of milk you've been

getting, at least till prices come down? How many people do you know who have ever written to Henry Ford or Harlow Curtice to deny any intention of subsidizing Walter Reuther's 30-hour week by buying cars at inflated prices?

The sad fact is that American consumers have degenerated into chumps: They'll stand for any kind of confidence game and won't make a move to protect themselves when they know their pockets are being picked and can plainly see who is doing the picking! Can you blame labor and management for recognizing that simple fact? Why should they worry about a worm that doesn't have enough sense to turn?

Things were not always like that. John L. Lewis and the anthracite coal operators learned something about consumer anger in the mid-1920's when a lengthy strike in midwinter deprived the eastern seaboard of hard coal. At that time anthracite was the principal heating fuel in the East and people went cold if it wasn't mined. But the people of thirty years ago refused to knuckle down when, adding insult to the injurious strike, Mr. Lewis and the mine owners settled their differences and advanced the price of coal. There was a metallic clanging and banging along the east coast as coal furnaces were thrown out or converted to oil, and the uproar continued when there were more

strikes and more price increases. Today the anthracite industry is in the doldrums. From a peak annual production of more than 90,000,000 tons, the hard coal mines are now being called on to furnish about a third of that tonnage.

It is not often that consumers have been goaded into taking this sort of punitive action. Nevertheless, it is a possibility that gives both labor and management something to think about. This is evident from a sharp reaction to a statement made by President Eisenhower on October 30. Discussing inflationary trends, the President said: "I just believe that in a period of rising prices, like in any other thing, people should attempt to purchase less than when prices are going down. Then you purchase more because that is when you can get them cheaper."

Reaction came from Walter Reuther, who howled that such an attitude was wrong and would throw people out of work. Mr. Reuther sees nothing wrong in his recurring wage demands which have kept prices moving steadily upwards. Nor does he see anything reprehensible in his repeated threats to shut down industry if he doesn't get what he demands. But let the President of the United States remind consumers that they still have the right *not* to buy when goods are overpriced and Mr. Reuther becomes indignant over the threat to our economy!

From past affiliations and performances, it may be assumed that Mr. Reuther is not greatly concerned about the free enterprise economy, except as it aids his United Auto Workers' treasury. His outburst may reflect a deep-seated fear of what consumers *could* do to him and others like him *if consumers ever took it into their heads to use their power.*

Too often overlooked is the elementary fact that the consumer really is boss. When a new contract comes up for discussion between, let us say, General Motors and the UAW, two tremendous forces are facing each other. One represents billions of dollars and the other a well-disciplined union of several hundred thousand men with vast financial resources. But the consumer could be far more potent than both these organizations combined: Let price-conscious consumers curtail their purchases of GM products and not only will General Motors be in trouble but Mr. Reuther's men will have to find other jobs.

THERE are increasing signs that consumers are beginning to feel that, price-wise, things are getting out of hand. We hear of a "slight recession," and we are told that "buyer resistance" is becoming increasingly evident in certain lines. But talk to the so-called man in the street and you'll get a simple, down-to-earth explanation for

what is happening: "Too expensive."

Builders may have to charge \$20,000 for a tiny ranch-type house because materials and labor costs are sky-high, but nobody is forced to spend that kind of money.

A car in the "low-priced" category may have to carry a \$3,000 price tag, but there's a difference between a price tag and a bill of sale. A recent statement by installment lenders expressed a fear that the higher car prices will stop this from becoming another boom year for the motor industry. So far, the new model year has proved disappointing. Is it any wonder, when you consider what has happened to car prices?

From 1947 to 1955 new-car selling prices increased about 30 percent. From 1955 to 1957 car prices went up another eight percent, and in 1957 there was still another advance averaging four percent. Put them all together and you get the kind of buyer resistance that has Detroit greatly worried.

Whose fault is it that prices have been skyrocketing, not just in automobiles but in almost everything? Management will tell you that not only are labor costs substantially higher but the price of raw materials is greater, largely because of labor costs involved in their production. Union officials will say that management is making tremendous profits, so why shouldn't it pay higher wages?

Both statements are partly true. It is a problem to find out to what extent each is to blame for our inflated price structure. The consumer has no place to go to get the facts, and he most certainly has no voice in the bilateral negotiations between labor and management that prove always costly to him.

HASN'T the time come for us to draft a new Magna Charta recognizing the legitimate rights of the consumer?

A half-century ago it was customary for Big Business to operate unilaterally in establishing the wages it would pay and in setting prices for its products. Injustices were done and laws were written which made it necessary for Big Business to bargain with labor. Now when Big Business and Big Labor lock in battle they do so as equals, with shock troops of lawyers, consultants and public relations experts to neutralize each other's blows and arguments. When the proper neutralization has been accomplished, a settlement is usually made at the expense of the so-called "little man" who isn't there—you and me.

Hasn't the time come for Congress, at last, to legislate for the interests of the consumer? Why shouldn't it be mandatory to have him represented at wage negotiations, with brain trusts of his own to challenge the experts of Big

Business and Big Labor? Why shouldn't he have the right to veto deals when the deals are going to be charged to him and not paid for by increased production or decreased profits?

In case anyone should argue that the consumer is at present represented by the government, point out that under our present system, if the government is represented at all, it is by someone who serves essentially as a referee. His job is to try to keep the parties—Labor and Management—in session to get a contract signed so there will be no strike. What goes into the contract is not likely to worry the federal referee.

One would be naïve indeed to believe that our politicians willingly would take the initiative in giving consumers the kind of break suggested here. After all, this is one development that neither Big Business nor Big Labor would care to see, and no politician is likely to incur their displeasure by disturbing the status quo. Before the consumer will get a voice in labor-management councils a healthy consumers' movement—one which can command votes—is going to be necessary. There is danger in that too. Whenever consumers have attempted to organize, socialists and communists have invariably attempted to infiltrate and take over. However, the very fact that the reds have shown such interest in "consumer" movements is

worth thinking about. Communists and their pink brethren don't waste time on anything that doesn't have a tremendous potential.

LACKING organization, the consumer at present has only one weapon, but it is one that can deliver a resounding blow, even in the soundproofed chambers where labor and management meet to talk terms. When the price of a product has gone too high—or if it is likely to go higher, following wage negotiations—don't be backward about expressing your consumer feelings. Don't be afraid to tell the salesman, "The price is too high," and to walk out. If you think you are being victimized, write to the heads of the businesses concerned and to officials of the unions dealing with them, and tell them what you think. You may be sure that such letters, multiplying with increasing indication of a brewing "Consumer Stop-Buying Strike," will be read and it will not take as many "mad" consumers to get action as some may think. Labor and business leaders, like politicians, are highly sensitive to public opinion as expressed in personal mail. Let a flood of mail reach the negotiators as they start their bilateral sessions, and you can make them remember the little man who isn't there.

Just be careful of one thing: you can write in detail as to your

plan *not* to buy until prices come down and quality goes up, but do not threaten to "organize" a boycott. The law can be very lenient of threats and intimidation when they are made by organized labor; a manufacturer can shut down his plant and stop production of an urgently-needed item, and nothing is likely to happen to him; but let the consumer become obstreperous in his reactions to

these acts and he is likely to find himself facing a judge—charged with grand conspiracy. This is just another indication of the consumer's present position in the scheme of things.

Still, even a sheep can bleat, and the bleats of many sheep may cause the shearers to be more careful, and thoughtful of the patient beasts that provide them with their golden fleece.

Appraising Dr. Killian

Researchers in Washington have been scanning the record of new U.S. missile "czar" James R. Killian. They are not favorably impressed with what they find. Killian has shown himself disturbingly ignorant of even the simplest security requirements.

Cited by those who question the "czar's" capacity to run a tough anti-Communist program are several of his statements while he was at MIT. He showed extreme reluctance to part with the services of MIT Professor Dirk J. Struik, accused by Herbert Philbrick of spreading Communist philosophy; Killian remarked, in 1949, concerning Communist party membership on the part of his faculty members, that "MIT takes the view that this is a matter of personal opinion. It is our policy not to inquire as to the personal beliefs of our staff."

In a 1948 statement before a Massachusetts investigating committee, concerning a bill to bar Communists from teaching positions, Killian stated: "The bill says in effect that the responsible officer of an educational institution should be a person so omniscient that he must be able to tell a Communist when he sees one, or be prepared at any time to determine what the doctrines of the Communist party may be on that particular day, and to determine whether any member of the staff of his institution, orally or in writing, has advocated any of these doctrines. I submit, gentlemen, that this is not only impossible, but dangerous."

The disturbing question arises: If Killian found it so difficult to keep Communists from infiltrating a school, will he be able to take the measures necessary to keep them from infiltrating the sprawling U.S. missile project?

—From *Human Events*, Washington

If **HOFFA**, Why Not **REUTHER?**

BY POLITICUS

IN THE CHORUS of deserved acclamation over the McClellan-Kennedy probe of crooked labor unions, one startling fact is being overlooked; the labors of the much praised Committee will result in a dangerous strengthening of the Reuther-ADA faction in the AFL-CIO.

Whether intended or not, the McClellan-Kennedy efforts may silence or discredit the whole conservative Republican wing of American trade unionism. Several glaring facts seem to confirm the suspicion that there is more than meets the eye in the Committee posturings of the very junior Kennedy, the Committee's Counsel. These include:

(1) The focusing of the Committee X-ray, almost exclusively, upon James R. Hoffa, president-elect of the Teamsters. Hoffa, with

his tarnished record of unethical deals, is hard to defend and his elimination from the labor picture undoubtedly will be a step in the right direction. But what will be its political effect? Beck and Hoffa were among the few national trade union leaders who defied the Roosevelt-Truman clique in the AFL-CIO and supported President Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. In Detroit, Hoffa represents almost the sole political influence which is checking Walter Reuther, and his henchman, Governor 'Soapy' Williams, from establishing complete political control over Michigan organized labor. He has for years been the principal thorn in Reuther's side. The breaking of Hoffa means the aggrandizement of *Reuther* power, both in Michigan and nationally.

(2) The attempt of the Committee to discredit Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the 750,000 Carpenters: The Committee has subpoenaed Hutcheson's records and is apparently conducting a fine-tooth-comb search to find facts which will justify a full-dress exhibition of Hutcheson on the witness stand, following Beck and Hoffa.

The Hutchesons, father and son, have been the leaders of whatever Republicanism has existed in the American trade unions since 1920. William L. Hutcheson, the father, officially headed the Republican Labor Division of the Republican

National Committee in the campaign of 1932. In 1944, when most labor leaders were completely gagged by the Roosevelt wartime pressures, the elder Hutcheson had the independence to issue a ringing statement condemning the Roosevelt race for a fourth term. The author is aware of the bomb-shell effect of this action because he assisted William L. Hutcheson in the preparation of the statement. Any eclipse which Maurice Hutcheson suffers as a result of the action of the Democratic-controlled McClellan-Kennedy Committee will strongly *increase* the authority of the Reuther-ADA group in the AFL-CIO.

(3) *The Pitzele incident:* The Committee plainly showed its political motivation by injecting Marilyn S. Pitzele into the investigation, by disclosing that he received \$5,000 a year for three years from Dave Beck as a labor adviser, while he was the Dewey-appointed chairman of the New York State Labor Mediation Board. Pitzele is a Republican. He is also an influence for clean unionism in the American labor picture. His services for Beck were pointed toward the elimination of corruption in the Teamsters' Union.

To twist his employment by Beck into something which the newspaper headline-writers could magnify into a public scandal was a stunt for anti-Republican public-

ity on the part of the Committee. The Committee, in studying Pitzele, conveniently overlooked the fact that Harry Uviller, his Democratic successor in Albany under Governor Harriman, still draws a large salary as an official of Mr. Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers. Nobody suggests that Mr. Uviller does anything dishonorable for his money. Why should the Committee imply that Mr. Pitzele, the Republican, has done so?

The slant of the investigators' minds—or of its young Counsel—has been apparent throughout.

Had Mr. Kennedy and his investigators shown an equal zeal to ventilate the very questionable labor and political practices of Mr. Reuther's insolent United Auto Workers, or to probe other unions which vote with Reuther in the AFL-CIO, the good faith of the McClellan inquiry could not be questioned.

Unhappily the Committee has conspicuously shied away from every opportunity to get the feared Democratic-voting Reuther into the Washington witness chair or to submit him to the same damaging publicity which has ruined Beck, Hoffa, Cross and others—mostly Republican-voting.

There can be no denying that Reuther has been the sacred cow of the investigation. When the Committee was asked to look into the Kohler Strike situation—where

Reuther has spent \$7,000,000 of union money and has resorted to an un-American boycott which stops little short of blackmail in an effort to bankrupt the Kohler Company—the Committee sidestepped. The proposal to investigate Reuther is, as we go to press, still on the table, with a vague promise that the Committee may take it up later in 1958—maybe.

THIS disposition to draw a line between “approved” and “disapproved” labor leaders has been obvious throughout the inquiry, and has thrown an unfortunate shadow upon what would otherwise stand as a good piece of Congressional investigative work. Every man who knows his way around in Washington is aware of the fact that shocking instances of corruption and dishonest industry-union deals could be found in virtually every one of the 141 internationals in the AFL-CIO. It is the occupational disease of an entrenched labor bureaucracy. Is it naïveté or something else which induces Mr. Kennedy to sound such a note of righteous indignation against the Teamster wrongdoers, while failing to perceive their unmistakable counterparts, who swarm in many of the unions which comprise Mr. Reuther’s ADA bloc? Mr. Kennedy does not strike one as a very naïve person.

To show that strange palsy which often, unfortunately, comes over

Compulsory Unionism is wrong in principle and in practice. The people who work for us should not be compelled, by any law or authority, to join any organization, and pay dues to it, against their will. Here we have experienced the un-American sight of mobs, menacing, man-handling, kicking and beating, those who would enter our plant for honest work—the mob being composed of non-working goons from Detroit, sent by Reuther’s UAW-CIO, for violence deliberately planned. In all we have witnessed over 800 acts of personal violence and property vandalism in our small community, calculated by Reuther to terrorize anyone who dared to work at Kohler.

Such coercive and illegal conduct will cease, in the United States, only when employers make it clear that none of them will buy peace by rewarding lawlessness; otherwise we accede to a dictatorship over men and women who should be free.—Herbert V. Kohler, Kohler, Wisconsin.

our Washington legislators when they confront a no-holds-barred investigation of labor union dishonesty, let us recall the melancholy experience of Representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan in the 83rd Congress. Mr. Hoffman, long an outspoken critic of the United Auto Workers, became the chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations in 1953.

He instituted a searching investigation of dishonest practices in the labor unions, which promised to broaden out into an inquiry comparable to the present McClellan-Kennedy operation. Mr. Hoffman began to turn up some of the same material on the Teamsters which is now being disclosed by the McClellan Committee. But he *also* proposed to investigate the UAW and some of the other unions which are now being studiously avoided by Mr. Kennedy.

What happened? The roof suddenly fell in on Mr. Hoffman. A mutiny of his committee members, sparked by George H. Bender of Ohio, later a two-year Eisenhower Senator, flared up. Demanding a full committee vote, the Congressional mutineers succeeded in stripping Mr. Hoffman of the power to appoint investigators or to expend committee funds. He sat out his two year chairmanship, divested of his executive powers. Without Hoffman, the investigation of the unions quickly fizzled out. In their sensational inquiry into trade union sins, the team of McClellan and Kennedy, unlike the less calculating Mr. Hoffman, have shown an uncanny ability to pick out the "right" targets.

Meanwhile, shielded by some invisible Washington influence, Reuther is posturing these days as a heavy thinker, and as a statesmanlike labor leader. While Beck and Hoffa were sweating it out

before Kennedy's triphammer questions, Reuther was grabbing national headlines by offering a "solution" to the nation's inflation. The fact that his solution was a lop-sided one, which proposed that the auto manufacturers reduce their car prices \$100, without any binding compensatory union concessions, was unimportant. The bemuddled New York Times gave it a column-long boost on its editorial page, with the welcome words that the Reuther idea "is in the right direction." Reuther has achieved his real objective, which was—"again and again and again"—*favorable publicity.*

THE importance of the discreditment of the teamsters, carpenter and other building trades unions in terms of American trade union control is obvious to anybody acquainted with trade union statistics.

Since the days of Gompers, the solid *bloc* of building trades unions, reenforced on some issues by the teamsters, has been the one force which has anchored the American trade unions to conservative rather than Communist or Socialistic policies. Without the building trades and the teamsters, American organized labor might long ago have succumbed to some form of Socialism, as in Europe. Although the building trades are usually divided politically (President Richard J. Gray of the Building Trades De-

partment supported Eisenhower both times, while other building trades presidents were backing Stevenson) they are united in *opposition* to the Left Wing unionism for which men like Reuther stand. In the AFL conventions, they have always maintained a veto power over Left-slanted proposals. The 3,000,000 building trades workers and the 1,300,000 teamsters have been the final voice in trade union policy.

With the merger of the AFL with the CIO in 1956, the position of this conservative bloc began to weaken. Reuther won the right to bunch most of his old CIO unions in a new "Industrial Department" in the combined body, with himself as chairman. The capillary attraction of these four million Reutherites to President George Meany, himself a former building trades unionist, has been increasingly apparent during the last two years. Meany is a conservative unionist, uncomplicated by Socialist aims, but he has found it expedient to work, on many issues, with the Left Wing. The old bolt unions of the former AFL have found themselves more and more isolated in the merged federation.

The position of the teamsters has now weakened the conservative union forces still more. Outnum-

bered in conventions and on the Executive Council, hurt publicly by the McClellan Committee revelations, lacking effective articulate leaders like Reuther, the role of the building trades in top labor policy is a receding one. Reuther and his CIO faction—backstopped by such ADA or Democratic partisans as President A. J. Hayes of the Machinists—command a strength in AFL-CIO conventions which is very near a majority. The elimination of the huge Teamsters' Union could be the event which would tip the scales.

THIS is not to say that Senator John N. McClellan, a tried and proven anti-radical, had any such purpose in sight when he launched his trade union inquiry. The investigation has simply gotten away from him. Backstage manipulators have subtly "guided" the activities of the Committee. They have used the public debacle of Hoffa as a signal for an ambitious power move in the American trade unions. The coming months, culminating in the 1960 Presidential campaign, will see their plans unfolding. Mr. Meany may find that his ethical unionism issue, praiseworthy as it is, will become another Trojan horse power-play for the Reutherites.

Return postage, together with a self-addressed envelope, must be included with each unsolicited manuscript to insure its return.

SYMPOSIUM

THE SUPREME COURT

I

What is The Supreme Court's Appellate Jurisdiction?

By Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana

ANYONE who can read should know by this time that communism is a continuing worldwide conspiracy. All three branches of the United States government have, in our past, affirmed this to be the fact. Consequently, questions about Communist Party membership are *not* questions about "beliefs." They are questions about deeds—and a known conspiracy. When a man joins an organization which seeks to destroy his own country, he is voluntarily performing a conspiratorial act.

This is and always has been the basic issue, since the first rudimentary investigations of Bolshevism, which began here 37 years ago. What is the Supreme Court doing, then, when it gives its blessings to the Sachers, and the Konigsbergs, who plead that Communist Party membership is simply a matter of belief? It is displaying—for the world to witness—an intent to accept that basic communist fraud.

Reasonable men may err. If the Court had erred only once or twice in these decisions involving the greatest threat to human freedom, reasonable men could find excuses for it. But what shall we say of this *parade* of decisions that came down from our highest bench on Red Monday after Red Monday.

According to the Court: The Senate was wrong; the House of Representatives was wrong; the Secretary of State was wrong; the Department of Justice was wrong; the State legislatures were wrong; the State courts were wrong; the prosecutors, both Federal and State, were wrong; our juries were wrong; the federal Bureau of Investigation was wrong; the Loyalty Review Board was wrong; the California Bar Examiners were wrong; the California Committee on Un-American Activities was wrong; the Ohio Committee on Un-American Activities was wrong.

EVERYBODY, they said, was wrong except the attorneys for the communist conspiracy and the majority of the United States Supreme Court. That is why we in Congress must *fulfill* our duty and act immediately in the way the Constitution empowers us to act, to repair as much of the damage as we can and to prevent even worse damage in the future.

The Cure: Section 2, paragraph 2, in Article 3 of the Constitution of the United States contains the following provisions: "The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, *and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.*"

Those words are hard, firm and clear as crystal. They could not be diverted, inverted, or subverted even by the Double-think and New-speak of a Harvard Law School Dean. The Congress has full, unchallengeable, power to pass laws immediately which would deprive the Supreme Court of appellate jurisdiction, both in regards to law and fact, in all matters involving:

(1) the purposes, functions, and practices of duly authorized Com-

mittees of the Congress, including all actions taken by the Congress against witnesses who have committed contempt before its committees;

(2) the purposes, functions and practices of all agencies of the Executive branch of government, which have been established with the approval of Congress to deal with problems of subversion among employees of the Executive branch;

(3) all laws and executive regulations established by the legislatures and executive agencies of the several states, to deal with problems of subversion within their borders;

(4) all provisions and regulations adopted by school boards and boards of education to deal with problems of subversion among teachers;

(5) all provisions, regulations and actions of state courts and state boards of bar examiners regarding admission of citizens to the practice of law within their several states.

I will introduce legislation to remove the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction in the matters listed above.

The Founders intended that the Senate be made up of elder statesmen to represent the States and act as a balance wheel for the Federal Government. We should return to their method of choosing Senators with additional provisions requiring Senators to be native-born and to protect the people against corrupt legislatures. The Senators represent the States, the members of the House of Representatives represent the people—checks and balances.

—By Paulsen Spence

II

An Alien's Ideology *Is Not The Law of Our Republic*

By Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi

THE COURT cited and adopted generally, and without reservation, as its leading authority on modern psychology, Myrdal's book, *An American Dilemma*, when it said—and I quote from Chief Justice Warren's opinion: "And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 1944." Let us see the basis for its racial integration decision.

In 1937, the Carnegie Foundation brought over Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a professor in the University of Stockholm. He was described by the Swedish University as a "social economist." He called himself "a social engineer." He was a Socialist who had served the Communist cause. He had no knowledge of the Negro question in the United States but he was hired by the Carnegie Foundation, to investigate race relations in this country, given a large staff and funds and told to publish his findings. Myrdal naturally found himself in the company of others recommended by the Carnegie Foundation—of Alger Hiss fame.

Myrdal has contempt for the principles upon which the United

States was founded and for the political system to which our people adhere. It is incredible that the Supreme Court could have overlooked, if they read it at all, certain remarks that are contained in his book. Myrdal stated that the Constitution of the United States was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "merely a plot against the common people," purely Communist propaganda.

Myrdal did not write this 1,400 page book himself. The book has no scientific validity from the standpoint of biology, sociology, or psychology. It was the work of several so-called "social experts" furnished Myrdal by the Carnegie Foundation. It would be more in keeping with facts, if, when Myrdal listed the names of most of these Carnegie Foundation "social experts," he had noted that they were members of communist and subversive organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our Constitution and the United States Government. That is the fact.

If Chief Justice Warren had

taken the time and trouble to refresh his memory from his own State's officially-printed reports and records (of his own administration as governor of his own State) he would have found—and he can still find—the names of Myrdal's "social experts" in the Fourth Report on un-American activities in California, 1948, and the Sixth Report, published in 1951, on Communist front organizations by the Joint-Fact-Finding Committee of the California Legislature, when the Chief Justice was Governor of the State of California. Judge Warren cannot claim unfamiliarity with his own State's official reports on such an important subject.

SIXTEEN names were furnished by the Carnegie Foundation as "social experts" to Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish "social engineer," for the writing of *An American Dilemma*. Their Communist connections were published in the official 1948 California report, made at the time the Chief Justice was Governor of California. *An American Dilemma* was written in largest part by American Communist front members, such as E. Franklin Frazier, who contributed to 28 portions of the book, and W. E. B. DuBois, who contributed to 82 different portions of the book. The Communist front members identified with the production of the book contributed 272 different articles and portions of the book. It was

adopted by the Communist Party (and by the Supreme Court) as authority for racial "integration."

How can the Court expect the American people to comply with its decision to change the accepted meaning of the fundamental principles of our Constitution when its decision is contrary to every other decision of the United States Supreme Court on the same question?

It is a tragic commentary on the intelligence and judgment of the members of the highest court that they would override the Constitution on the alleged "evidence" or opinions of such a strange ideological authority. It is a final indication of the extent to which the Court has been "brain-washed," by minority, even alien, pressure groups.

Our country has come to a sorry state of affairs when the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, speaking for all the members of the Court, can cite, as his authority for a decision, a book compiled by an alien who advocates the destruction of the American form of government—the very form of government which this Chief Justice and this Court are sworn to uphold.

Will the South obey this "decision?" Who is obligated, morally or legally, to obey a decision based not upon the laws of our land under the Constitution, but upon the writings and teachings of people who have a long record of affiliations with anti-American causes and the Communist conspiracy?

The Rights of a State are Indestructible

by Robert E. Lee

1866



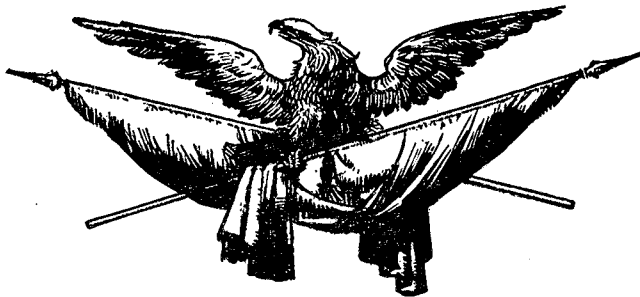
“ALTHOUGH the South would have preferred any honorable compromise to the fratricidal war which has taken place, she now accepts in good faith its Constitutional results, and receives without reserve the Amendment which has already been made to the Constitution for the extinction of slavery. That is an event which has long been sought, though in a different way—and by none has it been more earnestly desired than by the citizens of Virginia.

“In other respects I trust that the Constitution may undergo no change, but that it may be handed down to succeeding generations in the form we received it from our forefathers . . . I can

only say that while I have considered the preservation of the Constitutional power of the General Government to be the foundation of our peace and safety at home and abroad, I yet believe that the *maintenance of the rights and authority reserved to the State and to the People* not only essential to the adjustment and balance of the general system, but the safeguard to the continuance of a free government. I consider it as the chief source of stability to our political system, whereas the consolidation of the States into one vast Republic, sure to be aggressive abroad and despotic at home, *will be the certain precursor of that ruin which has overwhelmed all those that have preceded it.*

"The existence and rights of a State by the Constitution are as indestructible as the union itself . . . The legitimate consequence must be the perfect equality of rights of all the States; the exclusive right of each to regulate its internal affairs under rules established by the Constitution, and the right of each State to prescribe for itself the qualifications of suffrage. Virginia to the last made great efforts to save the Union, and urged harmony and compromise."

—Contributed by Mrs. Louise Chilton Bryan of Houston, Texas, from a letter dated Lexington, Virginia, 15 December, 1866, to Lord Acton, London, England.



*Communism is
the Opium of Statesmen*

THE *Godlessness* OF COMMUNISM

By: The Most Reverend Archbishop
Richard J. Cushing, D.D.
Bishop of Boston

THE PROMISE of a Redeemer brightened the first page of the history of mankind. It was this hope that accompanied the human race on its weary journey, until the coming of the Saviour ushered in our Christian civilization. But the struggle between good and evil continued. In our time there has come forward on the side of evil the grave menace, *Atheistic Communism*.

Atheistic Communism today dominates more than one-third of the world, with one billion people directly under its iron heel. At the fortieth celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution last November, it renewed, in its own peculiar Marxist-Leninist jargon, its boast that it will destroy American sovereignty and will become master of the globe "in the not too far distant future," a reiteration of what Communism has affirmed from its very beginnings—and specifically set down in "The Program of the Communist International," adopt-

ed at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1928. There we learn, on page after page, that the whole objective of the Communist Movement is to bring about "the world dictatorship of the proletariat," in order to usher in the Communist Society—"World Communism."

The goal of this world-rule is to establish an enforced atheism for all men through what the Communists call "dialectical and historical *materialism*," through the "International Proletarian Revolution."

This "dictatorship of the proletariat" cannot be established without some form of violence and is actually a dictatorship over the proletariat by the Communist Party.

Lenin, the first Communist dictator, was a professional revolutionist who was a bitter enemy of Czarist Russia. While Lenin was still in school, the Czarist government executed his older brother for

political activity. Lenin never forgot it. He had loved his brother and considered him a hero. He resolved to spend the rest of his life with only one aim—to drive the Czarist government out of Russia. He plunged into the work of organizing the secret revolutionary party. After a long time, which included years in prison and exile in Siberia, he became head of the Bolshevik wing of the Social Democratic Party. This party later became the Communist Party we know today.

LENIN's years of secret political activity taught him that it was very difficult to get great numbers of people to follow Communist ideas, and so he added an idea which is, perhaps, *the most dangerous part of all Communist theory*. In a pamphlet called, *What is to be done*, published in Germany in 1902, Lenin gave his ideas on how to create a revolutionary political party: if you want to take over the power of a government, it doesn't matter *how* you get that power or what you do, after you have won, to keep that power. You don't even have to think about what is right or what is wrong, what is kind or what is cruel, *so long as it gets you the power you want*. This idea enabled him, along with Trotsky, Stalin and others, to take over the government of Russia.

That dynamic, militant atheism

is the root of Communism—and that the spread of atheistic ideas by force is one of its chief features—can be proved by endless quotations from the writings and words of the Communists themselves. It is very important that we remember these basic thoughts for two reasons: First, that we may be alert to the widespread and cunning persecution of all who believe in God, carried on by Soviet Power everywhere that it establishes itself; and second, in order that we will understand that, because of its very atheistic nature and what results therefrom, "*We Can't Do Business With Moscow*."

It is essential that we remember and repeat over and over again Stalin's words from that famous Chapter Four of his *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*: "Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist or Communist Party." What does "dialectical materialism" mean? It is the enunciation of *atheism* as Communism's world outlook—that there is no God or soul or world of the spirit.

Frederick Engels, co-worker with Karl Marx, wrote: "Nothing exists outside Nature and Man, and the higher beings our religious fantasies have created are only the fantastic reflection of our own existence."

Engels—in his determination to prove that God was not the Creator—began to write an extensive

book, *The Dialectics of Nature*. He died before he finished it; it is still, nevertheless, widely used by the Communists in the atheistic instruction of their members. Lenin declared that the Communist magazine, *Under the Banner of Marxism*, "must be an organ of militant atheism" and "should carry on untiring atheist propaganda and an untiring atheist fight."

When we grasp this fundamental philosophy of Communism, we are not surprised to read from the pen of Lenin the following blasphemous thought: "Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression that everywhere weighs on the masses of the people, who are crushed by perpetual toil for the benefit of others, and by want and isolation—*Religion is the opium of the people*. Religion is a kind of spiritual gin in which the slaves of capital drown their human shape and their claims to any decent human life."

The expression "Religion is the opium of the people," rings out in many Communist documents and discussions, constantly committing Communists to the complete destruction of religion.

WE NEED not go far afield to learn of the bitter campaign against God right here in the United States, carried on by the Communists. The Communist Party in this country has issued two books, at least, against religion.

One of these is *The Origins of Christianity*, by Archibald Robertson, issued by International Publishers in 1954. We will not go into this book further than quoting the names of two of its chapters—*How Man Made God* and *The Legend of Jesus Christ*. In blasphemy it is matched by the other publication pushed by the Communist Party in this country, *An Essay on Religion*, by George Thomson.

This latter booklet, published in London but distributed widely here by the Communists, also bases itself on Marx's statement that "Religion is the opium of the people." It concludes thus: "We do not believe that man can improve his lot by bowing down before an imaginary divinity, omnipotent and inscrutable; rather, *the supreme being for man is man himself*."

To understand Communism we must know from the writings and words of Communists the philosophy behind this international conspiracy. It is the pagan philosophy of atheism.

Its aim is to establish a world-wide society *without* God, in which man is without a soul. Its methods and techniques are directly or indirectly focused on the attainment of that goal. We *cannot co-exist with it*, or do business with it. It is dedicated to our own conquest through wars, cold or hot, and—ultimately—to the world-wide establishment of a communistic society.

“THE BROTHERHOOD”

by Hilary Grey

We hear this word often, but do we know what it means?

THE SOVIET earth satellites are not a portent of disaster nor a cause for despair but are a warning that mankind faces a choice between extinction and human brotherhood.” So Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson was reported as saying at the National Conference of Christians and Jews, when that organization presented its first “World Brotherhood” awards at the Waldorf-Astoria on November 11, 1957. Adlai’s remarks seem to advocate appeasement. He does not appear unduly perturbed at the Soviet satellite ascendancy. It is the use of that word “brotherhood” which intrigues us—we hear so much of it these days.

We get it blared at us in the press, screen, radio, TV and the speeches of Liberals, Socialists, Pinks and Reds of every hue, and of our New and Fair (and double) Dealing politicians. It appears

in profusion in the literature and propaganda of the UN, its allied World-Government and World-Federalist agencies; and in that of the occult-type, global-aspiring, world religious bodies which enjoy semi-official status at the UN; of the Baha’i, Theosophy, Rosicrucian, World Fellowship, World Congress, World Brotherhood of Faiths pattern. (Indeed “Universal Brotherhood” is the collective name for these and similar cults.) The term, “brotherhood,” is also lavishly used by Modernist and “Progressive” Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, and by spokesmen of the Councils of Christians and Jews. The “pattern of brotherhood” can be seen, therefore, as embracing all those forces heading in a leftward direction towards a “One World” ideology. We are, in fact, being brainwashed into “brotherhood.”

Well, what is wrong with that? An English archbishop recently said that "Every Catholic must believe in the brotherhood of man." And similar statements are being made by some Protestant leaders. It would appear to be obligatory for Christians to believe in "brotherhood" and the brotherhood of man. Nevertheless, let us see what the use of this current slogan of "brotherhood" *may mean in practice*—as used by our contemporaries.

In the political field, the feelings of "brotherhood" urged on us appear to be completely one-sided—to the Left.

NO BROTHERLY feelings were entertained by the bulk of the commentators and opinion-moulding agencies towards Pat McCarran, Joseph McCarthy, Henry Ford, Sr., Charles Lindbergh, Generals MacArthur, Patton and Wedemeyer or William Jenner in the United States—or to Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, General Franco, General DeGaulle or Dr. Malan abroad—and the forces of Christian Patriotism which they represent. Nor were brotherly feelings shown to the AMERICAN MERCURY at the time of Dr. Matthews' article analyzing Communism among certain Protestant ministers! So on both the National and International levels "brotherhood" appears to be a *one-way* street paved with concessions to, and

leading towards, the World Communist state. It is the duty of Christians to oppose this kind of "brotherhood," for does not co-existence with the Devil mean Hell?

In the religious sphere, "brotherhood," as currently used, in the majority of cases either ignores the Incarnation of Jesus Christ altogether, or else reduces Him to the status of a mere man, of the caliber, perhaps, of Gandhi, Albert Einstein or Albert Schweitzer. A great American Protestant preacher

Fiction books have been known to contain many facts. We give you just two of the mentions of "The Brotherhood" which you can find by a careful reading of the late George Orwell's historical book, 1984. You can buy the complete United States text in a 35¢ edition, in some bookstores:

"I tell you that the Brotherhood exists, but I cannot tell you whether it numbers a hundred members, or ten million. From your personal knowledge you will never be able to say that it numbers even as many as a dozen . . ."

"You will have heard rumors of the existence of the Brotherhood . . . The Brotherhood cannot be wiped out because it is not an organization in the ordinary sense."

a few years ago denounced the World Fellowship of Faiths, which employs this latter technique, as follows: "Our Lord Jesus Christ (in the World Fellowship) is just another *guest* at the table, just a great teacher but not the Lord and Saviour, not the King of Kings, not the Divine One."

A brotherhood which ignores the Incarnation, or shears Our Lord of His *Divine* status, is a diabolical one and no Christian can support it for an instant, however much such "brotherhood" would supposedly "serve world peace" or contribute to a "relaxation of world tension."

It is not these aspects of "brotherhood," however, that I wish to discuss but the horrible suspicion aroused by the unremitting, propaganda repetition of this word: Could "brotherhood" not be an *abstract* noun at all but a *collective* one? Trade union groups once used the word "brotherhood" in that sense to *indicate the corporate strength of their members*.

But, as the point is important, let us refresh ourselves on the subject of nouns by quoting from a school-boy's grammar: "*Abstract*: the name of a quality, of something that has no actual existence materially, e.g. hope, love. *Collective*: the name of a number of things regarded as a whole, a *special* group, e.g. crew, herd, team, squadron."

We have accepted the word

"brotherhood" as if it were an abstract noun indicating a "brotherly" feeling, akin to love or friendship. This is how 98 per cent of our people read it. But it *could* be a collective noun indicating a group, or cabal of people—in this case a fraternity of international conspirators—*acting together as one international body*. If this hidden or double meaning is only secretly understood, say by the two per cent of initiates, we, who do not so understand or recognize its meaning, could be in great danger.

NEARLY 50 years ago, in 1909, Walter Rathenau, a German millionaire Socialist Cabinet Minister and international financier, said: "Only 300 men, each of whom knows all the others, govern the fate of Europe. They elect their successors from their entourage. These men have the means in their hands of putting an end to the form of any state which they find unreasonable." Rathenau held a similar position in Germany in World War I to that then held by Bernard M. Baruch in the United States (the U.S. War Industries Board). Rathenau would appear to be the type of person of enormous influence who would be in the "brotherhood," especially as he was also the brother-in-law of former Comintern chief Karl Radek. A similar statement to the effect that "300 financiers rule the world" was made by the well-known

French leftist, Jean Izoulet, in Paris in 1931.

AGAIN, Winston Churchill in an article on Leon Trotsky in his book, *Great Contemporaries*, (1937) refers quite openly to power in the USSR being in the hands of "the Brotherhood" and in a "self-chosen Priesthood." Apparently Lenin and Trotsky belonged, in Churchill's opinion, to the "Brotherhood" and so presumably would their millionaire financier backers—Jacob Schiff, head of Kuhn Loeb & Co., New York bankers; Max Warburg, banker of Hamburg, Germany; Israel Helphand Parvus of the Imperial Bank of Germany, and Jacob Asberg of the NYA Bank of Sweden. Asberg founded

the Russian Commercial Bank in Moscow in 1921, and is now banker-in-chief (behind the scenes) in the USSR. Major Jordan's Diary, says Asberg sent an emissary in March 1944, to the Wall Street multi-millionaire and international banker Herbert H. Lehman (New York Governor and Senator) who was stated to be one of the seven *real* rulers of the United States, along with Henry Morgenthau and Felix Frankfurter. Max Warburg's nephew is James P. Warburg, the leader, now, of the World Federalist Movement in the U.S., who informed the United States Senate on Feb. 17th, 1950, that: "*We shall have World Government, whether or not we like it. The question is only whether*

The word "Brotherhood" is used only twice in the Bible, once in the Old Testament and once in the New Testament. In the 11th chapter of Zechariah, wherein the prophet foretells the betrayal of Jesus and the subsequent fate of Judea and its inhabitants, the 14th verse, we read: "I (the Lord) break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel."

The second place where Brotherhood is mentioned is in the New Testament, in 1 Peter 2:17, where Peter writes, "Love the brotherhood." A study of this chapter reveals what he means by loving the brotherhood. The brotherhood, the one and only true brotherhood, which Peter had in mind, is *Christian brotherhood, and that has one foundation: Jesus Christ*. "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." (verse 5). Membership in that brotherhood is determined by a man's attitude toward Christ. "Unto men who believe Christ, He is precious; unto men who do not believe Him, He is a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense; the former shall not be confounded, but the latter shall be confused in their disobedience." (verse 6-8). Furthermore, *there are no unbelievers, no repudiators of Christ in that brotherhood.*

World Government will be achieved by consent or by conquest." (Pages 494-508 Committee on Foreign Relations, Senate, Feb. 17, 1950, Washington.)

It will be remembered that the hard-headed chairman of the House of Representatives' Banking and Currency Committee, Louis McFadden, testified in Congress on June 10, 1932: "Russia was designed to supply the manpower and this country (the U.S.) was to provide financial power to an international Super-State—a Super-State controlled by International Bankers and international industrialists acting together to enslave the world for their own pleasure." The "international Brotherhood" behind Communism and World Government—if such an unincorporated secret body could create it—would thus be, in the main, the *Brotherhood of the Internationalist Bankers*, past and present.

Much evidence could be sup-

plied to support this thesis. For instance, one could mention how Lenin's first woman Cabinet Minister, Madame A. Kollontai, visited Marcus Wallenberg of Sweden at the end of May, 1951, to request a cease-fire in Korea when Red China was on the point of total internal collapse.

Madame Kollontai was then living "in retirement" in the USSR. A two-year cease-fire was arranged, in spite of the wishes of American military advisers and in spite of General MacArthur's known ability and plans to beat the Chinese Soviet Communists and free Korea and China. Marcus Wallenberg is a Wim-

bledon tennis player—and an international banker.

Final proof of the collaboration between those internationalist bankers and Communism may have to wait until Communism is vanquished by Christianity and its dark secrets exposed to the light of Truth. Meanwhile let us apply

"For many deceivers are entered into the world Who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an Anti-Christ, whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." (11 John 7, 9, 10, 11).

St. John admonished Christians not to fellowship in the activities of those who are in opposition to Jesus Christ, and to the doctrines of Christian truth.

a simple test. Whenever we see the word "brotherhood," add the definite article and substitute a capital "B" and see if it doesn't make more reality-sense as a collective noun.

Here are three examples:

(1) Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin all said that Communism in Russia would "prepare the way for Universal Brotherhood." Didn't their use of the word mean that Communism, spread from its initial base in Russia, would put "the Brotherhood" in possession of "universal" power? Similarly "World Brotherhood" can mean that "the Brotherhood" will conquer the "world." The current Moscow slogan "Peaceful co-existence" is just another way of saying "Universal Brotherhood."

(2) The Presidential proclamation of "Brotherhood Week," in February, 1943, was issued under the slogan "Victory for Brotherhood." President Roosevelt said that the "Spirit of Brotherhood" was "Our War Aim" and that "It is our promise to extend such brotherhood earthwide which gives hope to all the world." Did Roosevelt mean that "*the* spirit of

the Brotherhood" was his war aim, or that he was fighting for victory for "*the* Brotherhood," promising to extend *the* Brotherhood's power earthwide? Roosevelt incited Britain to go to war over the German invasion of Poland *but ignored the Soviet Union's invasions*, at practically the same time, of Poland, the three Baltic States, Rumania and Finland. At Teheran and Yalta he handed over large parts of the world to Communist slavery. He conspired to *betray* our ally, Nationalist China. Does this really sound like "brotherhood" as commonly understood?

It is very apparent that there is a "Brotherhood" of a very *exclusive* kind, from which many brotherly patriots are excluded—or exterminated!

LET US return, in conclusion, to Candidate Stevenson's soothing and apparently harmless remark. If we apply the test described above, Stevenson's 1957 warning at once become a sinister threat: "The Soviet earth satellites are . . . a warning that mankind faces a choice between extinction and Brotherhood."

Not many citizens were told that, on the eve of the touchy N.A.T.O. Conference in Paris, just before Christmas, Adlai Stevenson tried in every manner he could to persuade President Eisenhower to take "an affirmative attitude" toward Soviet Premier Bulganin's notorious "peace proposals" which even our State Department knew to be clever propaganda for further Communist conquests.

Do You Know?

- ▶ Four out of five of our churches have Sunday schools, with the average attendance about 100.
- ▶ At the beginning of World War II there were 1.5 million tractors on our farms; by 1950 there were 3.6 million and by the mid-fifties more than 4.5 million.
- ▶ We have shipped the equivalent of our entire annual output of ethylene glycol (some 55 million pounds) to Europe, destined for Russia. It is the base for anti-freeze but it can be transformed into rocket fuel.
- ▶ Some South American subsidiaries of large American oil companies have been dishonestly operating under what is styled as a Western Hemispheric Charter, which was originally passed for the purpose of stimulating commercial expansion in South America.
- ▶ Secretary of State Dulles is reported to have complained to the President that United States officials allowed themselves to be “out-manuevered” in setting up the *international atomic agency*. In exchange for naming an American, Sterling Cole, as director of the new agency, Soviet nations were allowed to name a chairman and three board members—opening the way for Communists to penetrate further the underdeveloped nations all over the globe that will get help.
- ▶ In November, 1957, a “Congress of Crime” was held in New York State. U.S. Attorney Paul W. Williams said the criminal syndicate operated on a nation wide scale with an annual “take” of \$2,280,000,000. A corrupt legal profession and court injustice make this possible.
- ▶ The interest on our Federal debt alone is now \$8 billion a year. One tax dollar out of every 13 goes to pay this “grab.” The additional interest on state, city and private debt is again many times the above astronomical figure. The “enemy within” pushed us into wars so they could load us with debts.

- ▶ The average pay for a college professor is \$5,400 per year. We need to replace the brainwashed professors and substantially increase salaries of others.
- ▶ The seven wonders of the ancient world were: the pyramids of Egypt; the hanging gardens of Babylon; the temple of Diana; the statue of Zeus by Phidias; the tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus; the lighthouse of Alexandria and the Colossus of Rhodes.
- ▶ The Nile River, 4,160 miles long, is the longest river in the world.
- ▶ Four years ago, the Daughters of the American Revolution warned that an alien as Defense "Director" could take over in case of a national emergency—under the former Civil Defense Act. This civilian defense project, instead of being changed, has grown steadily worse.
- ▶ New York City has 21,000 dope addicts. Nearly every international conspiracy has its roots and chief members in New York City, the drug capital of the United States. East Harlem is the heart of drug peddling.—Paul W. Williams, U.S. Attorney

Mexico

The United States now has an Ambassador in Mexico who is doing an outstanding job, the talented Robert C. Hill. The Americans appreciate his capable administration. The Mexicans love him. Their press openly praise him. For example, the widely read newspaper, *Amav Mexico News* on November 16, 1957 said in their long and favorable editorial, "The popular ambassador, a man who truly knows his job, has won the admiration of Mexicans and Americans residing here through the excellent job he is doing, promoting goodwill and understanding between the two nations.

"He recently called on U.S. businessmen in Mexico to help in creating better U.S.-Mexico understanding. In a radio interview with Ernesto Araiza over XEL's American Hour, the Ambassador outlined the role of the U.S. businessmen in Mexico. He spoke of the ethics, the cooperation, the respect of local law, and other attitudes the U.S. businessman should maintain in his operations in Mexico to promote goodwill."

Informed people report that the entire U.S. Embassy group in Mexico is capable, efficient and performing outstandingly.

Brainwashing the American Public

Those "Martyred" Scientists

IN AN editorial attack on those who believe in strong security measures in the development of our atomic energy program, *The Washington Post and Times Herald* [owned by Eugene Meyer, friend of Henry Morgenthau] stated: "in sober truth, we have driven out of our laboratories a great many preeminent men of science; J. Robert Oppenheimer and Edward U. Condon are notable among them." The editorial, in a deliberate distortion of fact, infers that our treatment of Oppenheimer and Condon deters scientists from entering the atomic energy field on the theory they would "become targets of suspicion and abuse . . . by committees of the United States Congress. In the name of security, we have sacrificed security."

By inference, Oppenheimer and Condon are the "victims" of malicious gossip and unfair suspicion. Nothing could be further from the truth: In June, 1954, the United States Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) denied Oppenheimer access to restricted data (classified atomic energy information). Among the charges against Oppen-

heimer were: Admitted "under oath that, while in charge of the Los Alamos Laboratory and working on the most secret weapons development for the Government, he told Colonel Pash (Military Intelligence) a fabrication of lies"; told a FBI agent in 1950 "that he had not known Joseph Weinberg to be a member of the Communist Party until that fact became public knowledge. Yet on September 12, 1943, . . . told Colonel Landsdale (Military Intelligence) that Weinberg was a Communist Party member."

After an attempt was made to "obtain information from him . . . in the interest of the Soviet Government," Oppenheimer "waited eight months before" notifying authorities, and "thereafter for almost four months . . . refused to name the individual who had approached him"; admitted to the AEC Gray Board "that from 1937 to at least 1942 he made regular and substantial contributions in cash to the Communist Party" and that "he was in contact with officials of the Communist Party, some of whom had been engaged in espionage."

A 1948 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated "from the evidence at hand, it appears that Dr. Condon is one of the weakest links in our atomic security." In a 1952 report, the Committee said "during the course of its investigations to ascertain the extent and success of Soviet espionage activities relating to the atom bomb, the Committee was amazed at the numerous instances in which it was disclosed that Dr. Condon was acquainted with known and suspected espionage agents."

The *Daily Worker* of January 14, 1953, listed Condon as having protested against the death penalty for the now executed Soviet atomic spies, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. On October 13, 1957, Condon, as Chairman of the Physics Department of Washington University, charged that it "has been fashionable in Washington to attack the integrity of the nation's leading scientists, many of them have gone into political exile."

SUPPLEMENTING the aforementioned editorial with obvious intent of discrediting Congressional Investigating Committees, a Drew Pearson column in The Washing-

ton Post and Times Herald, was captioned misleadingly as follows: "*Scientists Driven from U.S. Posts.*" Among the brief background sketches, Pearson listed the name of seven scientists, including J. Robert Oppenheimer, who have been dismissed. Let us briefly examine the backgrounds of Pearson's alleged victims:

David Joseph Bohm: Formerly a member of Steve Nelson's Com-

munist cell at the University of California (Berkeley) Radiation Laboratory; Bohm, in 1949, declined to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, re-

garding membership in this cell, on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him.

Dr. Frank Friedman Oppenheimer: Testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 14, 1949, that he was a member of the Communist Party from 1937 to the spring of 1941; questioned as to others holding membership in the Communist Party, he refused to confirm their affiliation.

Dr. Linus Carl Pauling: A 1951 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated: "His whole (subversive) record

Exposing

*Dr. Oppenheimer's
Institute.*

The MERCURY's July, 1956, Reprint of the Oppenheimer facts is still available to Mercury readers. See inside back cover.

... indicates ... (he) is primarily engrossed in placing his scientific attainments at the service of a host of organizations which have in common their complete subservience to the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Soviet Union"; in May 1956, he signed a letter to the President urging him "to consent to a new trial for Morton Sobell or by the granting of executive pardon or commutation."

Dr. Bernard Peters: J. Robert Oppenheimer testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 9, 1949, that Peters was a German national; was a member of the German National Communist Party; arrived in California and violently denounced the Communist Party as being a "do-nothing party." An article in the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.) of May 18, 1957, identified Peters as a "former Communist who renounced his citizenship and was working at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research in India."

Dr. Harold C. Urey: In 1956 the House Committee on Un-American Activities reported that he "gave a tremendous impetus to the Rosenberg campaign," in connection with activities of the subversive National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case; "has

lent invaluable assistance to a wide range of Communist interests in the past;" the *Washington, D. C., Times Herald* quoted Urey as proclaiming, "I would fire every security officer in every atomic plant and laboratory in the United States with the exception of Los Alamos"; he signed an *Amicus Curiae* brief filed in the Supreme Court of the United States in October, 1957, on behalf of the convicted Soviet espionage agent, Morton Sobell.

Dr. Joseph Woodrow Weinberg: Identified by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as the "mysterious Scientist X" who allegedly furnished Steve Nelson, a Communist espionage agent, with atomic energy information from a California radiation laboratory; indicted in May, 1952, on charges that he lied in his 1949 appearance before the aforementioned Congressional Committee; during his trial, a government witness testified "Weinberg attended about 20 meetings of a Communist cell" between 1939 and 1941; jury acquitted him on March 5, 1953, although the judge stated that while he "respected their decision ... the court does not approve of ... (the verdict)."

—From the files of the
American Legion's Firing Line,
Washington, D. C.

II

False "Lessons" From Sputnik

SPUTNIK's launching was seized upon by "liberal" columnists and publications as another opportunity for peddling their familiar and dangerous line. We lost the satellite race, they claim, because of "McCarthyism." The security program and too vigorous anti-Communism created an atmosphere of fear, scared valuable scientists from government work, led to the dismissal of others and thus impeded our scientific progress.

The Truth: A special Presidential committee, set up to look into the problem of the shortage of scientists and engineers in government service, found that private industry offers *much higher beginning salaries* and better long-range financial opportunities than government service. As a result, the cream of the college science and engineering crop is going to work for private firms and laboratories . . . and not for the government.

The committee asked thousands of scientists interviewed if security regulations impeded their work. Of those in government service, 91 percent said it did not, and 97 percent of those in industry agreed with them. The Soviet scientists

who produced Sputnik and the missile that sent it into space have, for years, been working under security measures far more stringent than those existing in the United States. U.S. scientists were the first to produce the A-bomb—*despite the tightest security measures that had existed* in the free world up to that time.

The German scientists who produced the V-1's and V-2's for Hitler did not work in an "atmosphere of freedom"—but were far ahead of anyone else in the rocket field. Soviet scientists work in the most totalitarian nation that has ever existed—but have produced A and H bombs, an earth satellite, the missile to launch it—and even more powerful missiles.

Scientific achievement comes from men and women with intelligence and knowledge of their subject—and the physical facilities for putting them to use. The latter element is something a totalitarian regime, because of its very nature, can sometimes provide more rapidly than a democracy.

—*From the files of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S., Washington, D. C.*



COMMUNISM *in* ISRAEL

by Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh

Counsellor of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations

MOST AMERICANS today are concerned about the recent penetration of Communist-Soviet influence into the Middle East. Few realize how deeply entrenched Communism has been for several years in the one spot in the Middle East which intensive propaganda has portrayed as an "island of democracy" and as an "outpost of Western influence" in that vital region. That spot is the Zionist state of Israel.

In order to have a balanced,

comprehensive picture of the situation and strength of Communism in the Middle East, Americans must have access to all the facts about the strength of Communism in Israel. This is the state America helped *bring into being* ten years ago. American philanthropy—in the form of public grants as well as tax-deductible private donations, running into hundreds of millions of dollars annually—has literally *subsidized* it since 1948.

In the following pages, we shall

establish—exclusively on the basis of official Israeli publications, and the writings of Zionist and pro-Israel authors—the following facts: 1. The only country in the Middle East in which the Communist Party is recognized by law, and operates openly and freely, is Israel; 2. In addition to the Communist Party, there are two left-wing Marxist parties in Israel; 3. These three parties jointly occupy 25 seats in the Israeli Parliament; 4. The two Israeli left-wing Marxist parties participate in the five-party ruling *coalition*. They have four ministers in the 16-man Cabinet; 5. Over 88 percent of the rural settlements in Israel are organized on a communal, collectivist basis and *governed by Marxist principles*.

I

ISRAEL'S COMMUNIST & LEFTIST POLITICAL PARTIES

Israel is the only country in the entire Middle East in which Communism operates freely, with the sanction of the law. There Communist organizations are permitted to engage openly in the full range of the state's political life. This fact is seldom publicized in the United States. When it is reported at all, it is summarily dismissed and ignored, *as though it were without significance*.

An illustration of the casual reference made to Israel's monop-

oly of legal Communism in the Middle East, may be found in a recent book, by Harry B. Ellis, of *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Israel & The Middle East*. The Israeli Ambassador to the United States hailed this book, when it appeared in 1957, as a "painstaking and honest attempt to examine a very complex problem." While noting that "every Arab government has outlawed the Communist Party within its own country" (page 239) and that Israel Communist Party "is the only legal Communist Party in the Middle East" (page 154), the author, as usual, writes as though Communism prevailed in Arab society!

The political strength of Communism in Israel is not confined to the orthodox Communist Party. There are two other leftist, fellow-travelling parties, known as the *Mapam* and the *Ahdut Haavoda—Poalei Zion*. Let us analyze the objectives and principles of these three groups.

The Israel Communist Party:

This is the orthodox Communist grouping which follows the usual lines, mouths the usual catchwords, which have become universally familiar through the operations of Communist Parties in various countries. In an official publication of the Israeli Government (*Facts & Figures*, 1955, published by the Israel Office of Information, New York) the pro-

gram of the Israel Communist Party is authoritatively summed up (in page 19):

Its aim—Socialism. Basing itself on the Marxist theory of class struggle and guided by the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the party fights for peace, the real independence of Israel, genuine democracy, civil and national equality of rights, and for the interests of the toiling masses.

The Mapam and the Ahdut:

The relationship of these two parties to Communist doctrine and practice is more subtle than that of the Israel Communist Party. From an ideological standpoint, the *Mapam* and the *Ahdut* are offshoots of one and the same movement. They have at times merged into one party for actions and votes. At other times they have parted company as a result of differences over practical or procedural issues.

Before the establishment of Israel, three independent groups, known as *Ahdut Haavoda*, *Poalei Zion*, and *Hashomer Hatzair*, merged and formed a single party, to which the name, *Mapam*, was given. After the establishment of the Zionist state, this new political compound became the second strongest party in Israel. It was described at that time by Dr. Joseph Dunner, an American Zionist, in his book, *The Republic of Israel*, (pages 129-130):

The distinguishing feature of *Mapam* since the merger has been its strong pro-Soviet orientation. It holds that . . . Israel . . . *must* rely on the Soviet Union and the "people's democracies" of eastern Europe for support. *Mapam* takes credit for the flow of arms and ammunition to Israel from Czechoslovakia.

After its successes in the parliamentary elections of 1949 and 1951, when it gained 19 and 15 seats respectively, the *Mapam* Party underwent successive splintering. First, a faction seceded in January, 1954, and organized itself as the Left Socialist Party. It merged in October of the same year with the Israel Communist Party. Second, the *Ahdut Haavoda* abandoned the merged party in August, 1954, and reverted to its original name, while the *Hashomer Hatzair* retained the name *Mapam*.

The character of these parties may be gauged from their own definition of their objectives, *supplied by the parties themselves*, to the Israel Office of Information in New York. In 1957 this material was published in *Facts About Israel*. According to this official publication (page 62) *Mapam* defines itself as "a left-wing Zionist Socialist Party" and proclaims that "its programme postulates . . . a line of neutrality on the part of Israel" and the "abolition of all military pacts and alliances." The

Ahdut Haavoda, on the other hand, announces (page 62) that it stands for "a neutralist foreign policy; opposition to foreign military aid and foreign bases;" and "friendship with all peace-loving peoples." The party omits from the definition of its program supplied in an English translation for publication in the United States, some elements which appeared in *Facts & Figures, 1955*, published by the Government Press Office in Israel, such as the fact that its program calls for *support of the "world peace policy of the USSR"* and of "Popular China" (p. 18).

II

COMMUNIST & LEFTIST PARTIES IN ISRAEL'S PARLIAMENT

Each of these three parties is represented in the Israeli Parliament. Out of a total of 120 seats, the number they jointly occupy has *risen* from 20 in 1951 to 25 in 1955. *Today, the Communist and Leftist Parties jointly occupy more than one-fifth of the total number of seats in Israel's Parliament.*

To assess accurately the strength of these Communist and Leftist forces in the political life of Israel, one must remember that the Israeli system of parliamentary elections is based on the principle of "proportionate representation." This means that the people vote

for *parties*, and not for individuals. Each party is assigned a number of seats proportionate to the votes it received. In turn, it names the individuals who occupy those seats. That the Communist and Leftist parties have won 25 seats out of 120 means more than 20 percent of the Israeli electorate have voted for the Communist and Leftist programs, and supported the Marxist-Socialist ideology.

III

LEFTISTS IN ISRAEL CABINET

Since the beginning of its political history, Israel has had coalition governments. At no time has there been in the Israeli Parliament a party sufficiently strong to form a cabinet without the support of other parties. The present cabinet represents the five-party coalition which has been in power since the elections of 1955.

While the Communist Party is not a participant in the coalition in power now, among the five ruling parties the two Leftist parties—*Mapam* and *Ahdut*—are represented by two ministers each in the 16-minister cabinet. Under the present set-up, *Mapam* has the portfolios of Development and Health, while the *Ahdut* has the portfolios of the Interior and Communications.

Thus, we see that a quarter of the ministers composing the present ruling regime in Israel, and

participating in its coalition cabinet, are representatives of the avowedly Leftist and pro-Soviet parties.

IV

ISRAEL'S COMMUNAL AND COLLECTIVIST SETTLEMENTS

Communism is now strongly entrenched not only in the political life and institutions of Israel, but also in the structure of Israeli society. The political strength of Communism in Israel is *derivative*. It reflects the wide appeal of Communism as an ideology and a way of life to Israeli masses. It shows the strong influence of Marxist-Socialist teachings upon Israel's socio-economic organization.

The political fortunes of Israeli Communist and Leftist Parties must be viewed not as incidental or passing phenomena in Israel's political life, but as direct manifestations of the deeper and more lasting influence Communism exercises over the minds, hearts and aspirations of large groups of the Israeli people. This aspect of Communist strength in Israel is primarily in the rural settlements, through which the Zionist experiment in Palestine was initially conducted. They are today main pillars of Israeli society. The majority of these are organized on a *communal, collectivist* basis, and governed by Marxist principles.

The most extreme and widespread type of communal, collectivist settlement is the *Kibbutz* or the *Kvutza*—but it is not the only variety. Other types include the *Moshav Shitufim* and the *Moshav Ovdim*.

The Kibbutz:

Officially, the Israeli Government in *Facts About Israel* describes and defines the *Kibbutz*:

Kibbutz or *Kvutza* (plural: *kibbutzim* or *kvutzot*): Communal collective settlement; all property is collectively owned and work is organized on a collective basis; the members give their labour and are supplied in return with housing, food, clothing, education, culture and social services; there is a central dining room and kitchen, communal kindergartens and children's quarters, communal social and cultural centers and central stores.

This description of the pattern of socio-economic organization which governs the *Kibbutz* may be supplemented by the reports of interested and sympathetic observers. Collective ownership is fundamental. As Dr. Dunner observes in his book, *The Republic of Israel*, (page 142):

Not only the means of production are owned in common, but *all the personal things of life are also possessed by the group as a whole*. Everyone draws his clothing from the common stock. His wants are

satisfied in accordance with his needs. Everyone gets his tobacco or cigarettes from the common supply. He who requires more, gets more. Those who need less do not envy the others. . . . He who joins a *Kvutzah* gives up his money, his private home, furniture, books, clothing, all his earthly possessions. No individual accounts are kept.

Collective ownership leads to other related features of communal organization. The author continues (pages 142-143):

No money whatsoever is used in the internal relations of the settlement. . . . Only the external financial relations of the settlement are governed by customary capitalistic standards. The *Kvutzah* sells its surplus production for money. . . . He who leaves the settlement for a vacation, a necessary journey, or some specialized education is given his expenses from the common treasury.

In his book, *The New State of Israel*, Colonel Gerald de Gaury reports (page 206) that all products of the *Kibbutz* are marketed and sold by the community, either directly or through co-operative marketing organizations, and that "pay for work of a member outside the *Kibbutz* goes direct to the secretary of the community for the community."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, reporting on her visit to a *Kibbutz* (in *India and the Awakening East*)

observes with evident enthusiasm that "no one receives any money for his work; indeed he has no need of money, for the community supplies him with everything from pins and tooth-paste to clothes, food and medical care." (page 43).

In this setting, work is not conducted on a free and selective basis, but is *assigned* to each member by the community, and carried out within the framework of a general plan devised by all the members in a sort of town-hall meeting.

A different system is described by some observers. Colonel de Gaury says, "rosters for duties are posted by the secretary, and it is a law of the *Kibbutzim* that the duty must be undertaken before any complaint is made." Mr. Ellis explains that the assignment of work for members of the *Kibbutz* is undertaken by committees acting on behalf of the whole community: "The *chaver's* [i.e., comrade's] responsibility is to accept the job assigned to him by the *Kibbutz* as a whole, through committees elected for that purpose. Committee memberships are rotated throughout the *Kibbutz* as are work assignments generally, though certain jobs tend to be performed by those with applicable skills" (page 168). He adds that the list of assigned jobs is displayed on the bulletin board outside the communal dining hall, and "each evening the *chaverim*

read . . . their work assignments for the next day" (page 185).

There is little privacy in the *Kibbutz*. According to Ellis (page 168):

Privacy is avoided by the *Kibbutz*, and to eat alone is considered anti-social. Thus meals are taken in common by members in a large dining hall. It used to be, in the early days of the movement, that members would meet in the dining hall at night to talk, and a *chaver* who stayed in his own quarters was regarded with disapproval. This now is less true. Indeed, as the *Kibbutzim* grew more prosperous, living quarters became more expansive. Wooden barracks divided into single rooms, shared by a couple, began to give way to concrete buildings in which each couple had one large room, plus one very small one, and in some cases even a private bath and kitchenette. Here again was an erosion from earliest *Kibbutz* principles, which held that showers should be taken in communal shower rooms. The edict against complete privacy still holds, however.

The Zionist couple's room or quarters, however, do not house the children. "Children live apart from their parents in their own separate quarters, where they eat, sleep, and have classes," writes Ellis; "... At four o'clock each afternoon the children go to the room of their parents for a two-hour period. This is the children's hour

. . . When supper time arrives, the children go back to their own quarters, where they eat and then go to bed" (page 169). He adds: "For one and one-half months after giving birth to a baby, a mother is exempted from work. Then gradually she works back into the organization, until, when her baby is six months old, the mother assumes her full work load. From that point on, except in cases of special need, she sees her child only during the children's hour" (page 186).

This institution is labelled by Dr. Dunner as "the most striking feature of the *Kvutzah*" (p. 143). Whether "striking" or "strange" is the proper term to use in describing this practice is a matter of opinion. There are other "striking" or "strange" features of *Kibbutz* life. Colonel de Gaury reports:

In the beginning members of some of the *Kibbutzim* did not solemnize and register their marriage before a Rabbi or solemnize it before witnesses . . . more and more members of the *Kibbutzim* now register their marriages with a Rabbi" (page 207). He adds: "In some new ex-soldier settlements where life is hard, accommodation limited and all the members below thirty, young members of both sexes share the hut rooms, generally in threes, but the tendency is towards marriage before a Rabbi or registration of it by him, as soon as a child is expected. The community, on application, provide

a private room for the couple. The man then ceases to sleep in a dormitory with others, and his children are brought up and sleep in the communal children's quarters (page 207).

According to Ellis (pages 169-170): "Generally boys and girls are allowed to sleep in the same room until they themselves desire separate quarters and separate showers. In some *Kibbutzim* sexual intercourse between unmarried youth, while not encouraged, is considered the affair of the young people themselves."

Moshav Shitufi & Moshav Ovdim:

While its system is the most extreme embodiment of communal organization in Israel, the *Kibbutz* is not the only type of settlement organized on a communal and collective basis. Other types include the *Moshav Shitufi* and the *Moshav Ovdim*. The former resembles the *Kibbutz* in that it is based on "collective economy and ownership;" but it departs from the *Kibbutz* in that each family has its own house and is "responsible for its own domestic services." (*Facts About Israel*, page 80). In the *Moshav Ovdim*:

Each individual farm is worked by the member and his family, but the produce is sold through a central cooperative, and purchases are undertaken cooperatively. Certain types of agricultural equipment are owned by the settlement

as a whole. . . . No transfer of a farm or acceptance of a new member is possible without the approval of the village council (page 79).

Character and Role of Israel's Communal Settlements

Having described the patterns of socio-economic organization which prevail in Israeli communal and collective settlements, we should observe that these patterns are not incidental by-products of a process of haphazard growth. They are, in the words of the Israeli Government, reflections of "various social philosophies" (*Facts & Figures*, p. 51). It is significant that, having asserted that "ancient Jewish civilization was rooted in the land" and that "it was natural and inevitable . . . that the return to the land should have constituted the soul of modern Zionism," the Israeli Government describes the prevailing methods of rural settlement as "the unique pattern of group settlement characteristic of Israel farming." (*Facts About Israel*, pages 78-79.)

It is customary for Zionists and pro-Zionists to speak of communal and collective settlement with pride and enthusiasm. Dr. Dunner asserts:

. . . the *Kvutza* forms a unique achievement of Jewish colonization, indeed an original contribution of the Jewish homeland to agrarian reform" (page 142).

Visitors to Israel are amazed to see in the midst of a capitalist economy these islands of collectivism based on solely voluntary efforts and maintaining the creative spirit of man (page 144). Whether the *Kvutzah* type of settlement could be profitably emulated by other nations depends, of course, on the number of men and women who can free themselves completely of the idea of all private property and who at the same time are willing to work to the best of their ability irrespective of the quality and amount of work done by others (page 145).

Mrs. Roosevelt, commenting on the *Kibbutz*, writes: "It is clear that agricultural communities such as this one are not merely economic projects to these people, but an entire way of life, of living and working together. They apparently take great hold of the young people who are captured by the communal idea" (page 45). Evidently, this Zionist appeal is catching—affecting Mrs. Roosevelt herself—for she subsequently speaks glowingly of the "crusading zeal and imagination" she professes to have found on the Zionist farms; and, singling out the *Kibbutz*, she confesses that she found it "particularly" interesting, and writes about the "heroic part" it played not only in peace but also in war (pages 43-46).

The enthusiasm of the Israeli, and the excitement of Zionists and quasi-Zionists, over the predominating types of rural settlement

do not conceal nor alter the fact that they are organized on communal and collective bases and *governed by Marxist principles*. Many students of socio-economic systems have compared these Israeli communal settlements with the *Kolkhozes* of the Soviet Union—only to find that the Israeli type exceeds the Soviet type in the degree to which it realizes the communal principle.

Zionist Dr. Dunner proclaims that "*the Kolkhozes never applied communistic principles in the relations of their members to the extent of Israel's Kvutzot and Kibbutzim*" (page 144); while Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, asserting that the *Kibbutz* "*is probably more strictly socialistic than the collective farms in Russia*," explains:

In Russia, while all farmers are on collective farms most of them have a small plot of land. There they may grow what they like and sell it on the market. They also have separate homes and kitchens. In a *Kibbutz*, however, everything is communal. (*Strange Lands and Friendly People*, page 274).

Perhaps, then, the special Study Mission of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U. S. House of Representatives was actually understating the case when it described the *Kibbutz* as "*a form of elementary communism*" and judged that it "cannot be classified among dem-

ocratic institutions.” (House Report No. 2147, pages 30 and 32.)

The relevance of these findings to our examination of the strength of Communism in Israeli society today is reinforced by the fact that the *overwhelming majority* of rural settlements in Israel are communal and collective. According to official Israeli statistics, the total number of Israeli communal and collective settlements of the three types is 507. There are only 69 permanent settlements of more conventional types. More than 88 percent of the permanent rural settlements in Israel are communal and collective in organization.

Nor is the impact of communal settlements upon Israeli life fully told by statistics alone. The *Kibbutz* enjoys a special role in the shaping of Israeli society. It was originally conceived as “an outpost of Zionist settlement in Palestine” and designed “to set the pattern for the future Jewish community of Israel” (Murray Weingarten, *Life in a Kibbutz*, pages 7-8). The *Kibbutz* soon became “the instrument of Zionist settlement in Palestine” (Ellis, page 58) and remained, throughout the Mandate, “the basic form” of such settlement (page 98). Later, it played “an indispensable role in the early days of statehood” (page 172). Even today, it remains the symbol of Zionist “pioneering”—so much so that, when Premier Ben Gurion decided to retire in 1953, it was to a *Kibbutz* that he

went; and, upon his return to public life, he continued to seek rest and inspiration in a *Kibbutz*.

V

SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS

We have surveyed the most important manifestations of Communist strength in the domestic life of Israel—political, social and economic. The other side of the coin—Israel’s relations with the Soviet Bloc—merits separate examination.

In this examination (to which we shall return, in a forthcoming issue of the AMERICAN MERCURY), we shall establish—relying exclusively on official utterances of the Israeli and the American Governments, on Zionist and pro-Israeli publications, and on news reports published by the *New York Times*, which cannot be charged with anti-Israel bias—the following facts: 1. The Soviet Union’s support of the establishment of Israel in 1947 was crucial; it tipped the balance at the UN in favor of the partition resolution; 2. The first Israeli diplomatic envoy was appointed to Prague; the second, to Moscow; 3. The first country in the Middle East to purchase arms from the Soviet Bloc was Israel; 4. The first country in the Middle East to proclaim a “neutralist” foreign policy, and to adhere to it consistently and without deviation since its inception, was Israel; 5. Israel pledged

in July, 1953, never to join any anti-Soviet alliance or pact; 6. Israel's trade with the Soviet Bloc continues to be vital for Israel's economy and, relatively, in excess of Arab-Soviet trade.



The following official figures on U.S. Foreign Aid to Near East countries, since the end of World War II, throws light on a Washington pressure group's power. From Summary of Foreign Grants and Credits, Dept. of Commerce, June 1957 Quarterly report. Population figures are from the 1957 World Almanac.

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Net Grants and Credits</i>
Egypt	23,240,000	\$ 72,000,000
Iraq	5,200,000;	11,504,000
Iran	21,146,000	301,000,000
Israel	1,850,000	432,000,000
Jordan	1,500,000	38,000,000
Lebanon	1,425,000	21,966,000
Saudi Arabia	6,500,000	9,113,000
(Saudi Arabia also holds \$15,158,000 Lend-Lease silver belonging to the U.S. Treasury)		
Syria	3,906,000	1,076,000

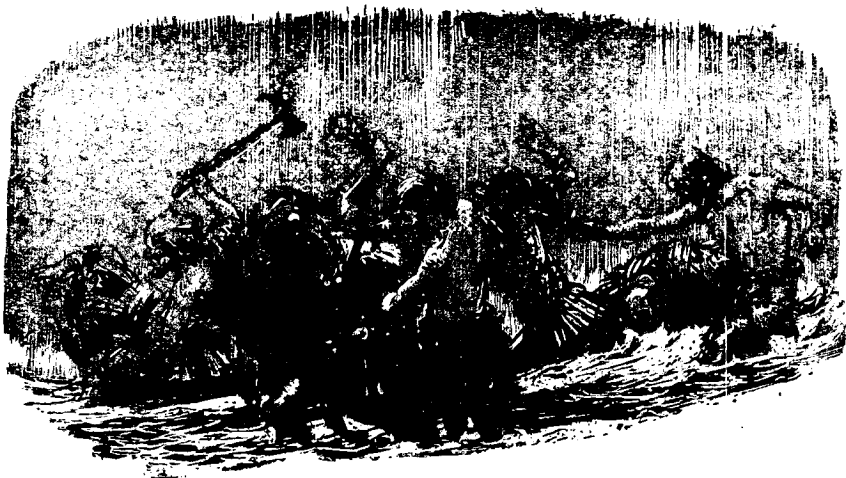
Recapitulation

Eight Moslem states with a total population of 62,917,000 received \$454,659,000 while Israel with a population of only 1,850,000 received \$432,000,000.

—From *Paul Peters*, Washington, D. C.

Nato

We have been flooded with phony propaganda favoring the creation and strengthening of NATO. The real motive was to secure unified command for the behind-the-scenes manipulation by International Zionists. Recent urging by Baruch's pet, Churchill, to include Red Russia in NATO should open our eyes. The international money-lending houses propose now that they make direct loans to NATO members through an "organism" of their own.



Beach Head-55 B.C.

by Edward A. Dieckmann

FUNDAMENTALLY the men of the 10th Legion, then famous as "Caesar's Own," were the same as the men of the United States Marine Corps who fought through the bloody surf at Tarawa. They griped and grumbled about their chow and the weight of their packs. They talked about their girls back home or bragged about their conquests among the girls of Portus Itius. They shot craps with the same sort of dice in the troop compartments of Caesar's transports. They were lorded over by loud-talking veterans who stood before their squads, feet planted wide apart, fists on hips—their eyes narrowed as if they dared any-

one to disagree with them—while they lectured on the grim facts of life as lived in a fighting organization.

Call these veterans decurions or sergeants, it doesn't matter. They both had the same goal—to impress their men that they were now members of an outfit with an honor to uphold. Whether it was the Second Marine Division or the 10th Legion, Imperial Roman Army, military results were obtained.

"Howling Mad" Smith and Caius Julius Caesar directed their respective amphibious operations against the stubborn resistance of excellent fighting men in places widely separated in time and

space, but with practically the same tactical difficulties. The times and places: 20 November 1943, Tarawa in the Central Pacific; and a sandy strip of beach near the modern city of Deal on the east coast of Britain on 28 August 55 B.C.

The weapons, of course, were different. So were the ships. But the troops were just as tightly jammed in the ships' holds, just as seasick—and had no knowledge of their destination. They were only sure of one specific thing! There'd be a bloody fight when they arrived. The Roman GI's munched grain and dried fruit ground up together, mixed with oil and honey, molded into balls the size of a large olive. Two of these—so said a dietary expert who sat in an office back in Rome—supplied sufficient nourishment for one day. The men of "Caesar's Own" no doubt had their own ideas on the matter. They were issued dry bread, raw onions and a generous wine ration just before they went into action.

THE MAN of the ancient 10th was in full pack—60 pounds carried on a pole with a V-shaped head like the present day hod carrier's equipment. There was an advantage to the system. A man could drop it when he went into action. Each pack was stenciled with its owner's pay number for easy identification. He wore a leather helmet with the legion em-

blem in bronze as a decoration, and with hinged cheek-pieces which could be fastened under the chin with a leather strap. Over his tunic he wore a short leather jacket covered with overlapping metal scales. High-laced, thick-soled sandals covered the feet and the soldier carried a light spear. A short "cut-and-thrust" sword was slung at the right hip. He carried an oblong shield, and wore a greave on his right shin.

The officers and NCO's wore horse hair plumes on their helmets—different colors indicating rank. The Legion's standard bearer was an officer. The man who carried the eagles of the 10th Legion that afternoon was to make an enviable place for himself in military history when he led the way during one of the first amphibious assaults on record.

The reasons given for Caesar's attack on Britain are varied—depending upon who offers the explanation. As in the case of all prominent men, Caesar's memory takes a beating or is awarded the laurel wreath. What Caesar had to say himself about this reconnaissance in force—as it's been called—appears very logical:

"I discovered that in almost all the wars with the Gauls they received aid from Britain—I entered the island and saw into the character of the people and obtained knowledge of their localities, harbors, and landing places, all of

which were, for the most part, unknown."

And that, no doubt, is exactly why he shoved off from Portus Itius, the present port of Boulogne, at about 0100, 28 August 55 B.C. He had the 10th Legion under Legate Titus Labienus and the 7th Legion under Servius Galba. His force comprised about 10,000 men in 80 transports, accompanied by 24 warships carrying arrow engines and catapults for covering the landing. A dozen supply ships formed the remainder of Caesar's fleet. Eighteen other transports left Portus Ulterior with 450 cavalry aboard, but because of contrary winds and faulty piloting, they never arrived at the British coast.

A Roman naval officer, Caius Volusenus, had made a rapid examination of the coast of Britain across from what is now Calais in France. His purpose was to ascertain what harbors there might be for a large fleet and to learn what he could about the people, their system of war and customs. His only accomplishment was to warn the Britons that Caesar had invasion plans.

THERE IS a story—it sounds reasonable enough when one considers what happened—that Volusenus was fed a good line of misinformation by a fast-talking agent of the British chief, Cassivellainus, to the effect that the big harbor, where present day Rye is located,

was bordered on the landward side by swamps impassable to troops and that the beaches were quicksand. Volusenus didn't land on Britain during his five-day scouting trip. Instead, he brought back information that the best place to land was a strip of beach near the White Cliffs of Dover, and he delivered a pilot who had offered to guide the Roman fleet to this destination. The fleet nearly came to grief on the Goodwin Sands. Whether this incident was a deliberate miscue on the pilot's part or only a miscalculation is a matter for supposition.

Caesar was to discover the hard way that the Britons fought almost naked because they despised men who fought in armor; that they dyed their bodies blue before battle, did not fight in formation but conducted a skirmishing type of attack using cavalry and two- and four-horse chariots in addition to light infantry and archers. Their infantry weapons were long swords and javelins. Each man carried a small round shield.

The chariots were their best weapons. Besides a driver, each carried from four to six men—all of them experts with weapons. The chariots charged in groups or by twos, the fighting men running out along the pole to hurl their weapons. These chariots, unlike the ones described by Homer, were open at the front and had a long scythe attached to each wheel hub.

They would come in at a gallop, very noisily—they were built that way to cause dismay among the enemy—turn sharply and rake along the front of a formation. In the confusion they created, they would turn and plunge straight into the enemy ranks. The drivers were so expert, the horses so well-trained, they could stop in their tracks, turn at full speed and go into a figure-eight course, scything through an enemy's ranks. The chariot corps was the elite of Cassivellainus's army. He had 4,000 of them, many of whom turned amphibian that August day in 55 B.C.

Caesar's flagship arrived off the Dover Cliffs at about noon. There was fog and the white cliffs loomed through the mist. Caesar studied the shore line. There was no sign in the dense fog of the remainder of his fleet except for a few lone trumpet calls from seaward, proof that the ships were not too scattered. On Caesar's ship the men were piped down to dinner while a reduced crew of oarsmen kept the vessel in position. Then a light breeze scattered the fog and the shore line was visible, about a bowshot away. To seaward, the fleet lay spread out over a dozen miles of blue water, the supply ships almost out of sight. Ten war galleys were close enough for signal distance.

Even as Caesar examined the narrow beach below the cliffs,

a spread of arrows plunked into the water, 50 feet away. The men who shot them were invisible, but along the summit of the cliffs swarms of men and horses were in plain view. The landing was most certainly expected—and at this very place.

Caesar ordered an officers assembly signal to the yardarm, and trumpets sounded officers' call to those ships close aboard.

He faced them on the quarter-deck, bareheaded among his helmeted commanders. "There's no beach to land an army on," he said, indicating the narrow strip of sand below the cliffs. "We'll try farther north around that headland. Your ships will follow me. Time has run out for us." He pointed with his ebony cane to the Britons on the cliff-top.

AT A SPOT eastward of the present city of Deal, Caesar found a wide, sloping beach located in a gap between the hills, with high ground to landward. The surf was light. It was at this point that a fast dispatch boat arrived to report that the big cavalry transports had been wind-scattered during the night, had almost run aground on the Goodwin Sands and had put back to Gaul to reform. Caesar hove-to off the sloping beach and waited for his heavier ships to join him. This gave the Britons more time to gather and oppose the landing. The men of the 10th could see

two- and four-horse chariots, cavalry and thousands of half-naked infantry—all armed to the teeth. They were close enough to hear shouts and the blaring of war horns as new groups came from inland.

Only the lightest type ships could approach the shore close enough for the men to jump into the surf, without the certainty of being drowned in their heavy armor. These light ships were ordered forward and they pulled in fast, the men of the 10th cheering and waving their weapons. The Romans were always noisy fighters.

The Britons met them in the surf, on horseback, in chariots and on foot; met them with such vim—and with an accompanying storm of arrows and javelins—that they forced the Romans to lock shields as they stood in the bows of their light-draft ships. One centurion leaped over the bow of the first ship shouting for his men to follow. Forty of them did but the Britons rode them down, slashing them, drowning them, managing their horses in the sea as though they knew every deep and shallow. Dozens of the 10th had been killed by that first volley of missiles, others cut down in the sea. Caesar ordered the ships to withdraw. The Britons screamed defiance from the beach.

**“The Ides of March”
Caesar was assassinated
March 15, 44 B.C.**

Caesar then put his torsion artillery into play. Arrow engines and catapults on the war vessels swept the beach, then the ground above it. The Britons scampered out of range but not before those hundreds of four-foot arrows from the engines—shooting six arrows at once—had taken a great toll.

Caesar ordered his light ships in-shore again. The Britons wheeled, yelled, trumpeted and charged through the hail of arrows into the sea to meet the Romans. A group of Britons even boarded one of the ships, leaping from the chariot poles and from horseback. They were killed. The torsion artillery

had to cease fire now for fear of killing their own men.

The men of the 10th leaped into the sea by squads, singly, and by twos, only to be ridden down and killed, for the weight of their armor and equipment made them helpless. The Romans sank as they died, but when a Briton was killed his body floated in a frothy red pool and bumped the sloping beach. At the end of an hour's fight, scores of British corpses bobbed about but no Roman dead were in sight. This may have encouraged Caesar's men.

In the meantime, more ships arrived. Soon the sea off the beach was full of ships. To the south of the bloody section of beach was a

cove, within long catapult and arrow range of the Britons. Caesar ordered four of his war galleys in to open up with a diverting fire without endangering Roman troops. At the same time he ordered Titus Labienus, the commander of the 10th Legion, to send a small boat for the standard bearer.

The standard of a Roman legion was a sacred thing. As long as a legionary soldier lived, he'd do his uttermost to prevent its capture. Desperate measures were needed now. Darkness was closing down—the wind was coming up—an onshore wind too. The troops were making no headway against those slashing, yelling, sword-swinging, beach chariot-riders and horsemen, who knew no fear but seemed to know the shallows off shore like the palms of their own hands.

What Caesar said to the 10th standard bearer is not known. He probably took advantage of the fact that he was held in veneration by his troops. They would do anything to win a nod of approval from him. "Lead the 10th to the shore. I'll watch you," were the words he may have used.

The standard bearer was rowed back to his ship. As he came alongside, many small craft were appearing—flat-bottomed, square-nosed scows with six oarsmen apiece. These landing craft had been towed by, or carried off board, the

transports and supply ships. These vessels had closed in now and were busy getting boats into the water.

As the scows were being loaded with troops, the 10th's standard bearer appeared in the bow of his ship. In all that din—the shouting of the Roman NCO's, the whang-thunk of the catapults, and yells of the Britons—whatever he said was inaudible except to those close beside him. He swung the Legion's standard high, waving it toward the beach, indicating to everyone watching that he was taking the sacred emblem into danger—that he dared the 10th to follow him and prevent Caesar's eagles from falling into enemy hands.

EYEWITNESSES to what happened next relate that there rose a roar of voices, a clanging of swords against shields, as the men of the 10th plunged after their standard. Many were drowned. Many others were perfect targets for the horse-riding Britons.

The standard bearer went down. Another soldier snatched up the emblem. He carried it farther inshore, surrounded by a group of legionnaires, before he too went down and another soldier raised it again. By this time shipload after shipload of Romans had leaped into the surf where they tried to lock their shields while water choked them and armor pulled them down. The scow landing

boats stormed shoreward, each loaded far above capacity. Some of them overturned, spilling troops into the sea. Others pressed on, riding over their comrades in the desperate chaos.

As they struggled shoreward, following the standard, they had to meet the British chariots and cavalry in full force, charging into the shallows, the long, knife-edged scythes on the axles sweeping along the ragged Roman line, mowing the men down like wheat.

Twice the men of the 10th fell back toward deeper water and the ships—but the ships had backed off a bit. There was only one place to go—toward the beach.

It wasn't until the Roman artillery lowered its range, sweeping the beach from front and flank, killing friend and foe alike, that the situation changed. The salvos and low-flying arrows made it difficult for the Britons to reinforce the fighting line.

In the shallower water the 10th could close formation, although

the scythe-bearing chariots cut them down again and again. By now the legionnaires had learned the trick of slashing at the chariot horses before they could wheel and rake them. At last the standard of the 10th was on dry ground.

The artillery ceased fire. The Romans plowed through the surf, formed and let out a cheer that echoed from the hills. They were always noisy victors.

Legate Titus Labienus, commander of the 10th, his uniform dripping salt water, his helmet plumes a sagging ruin, grinned proudly as he saluted Caesar on the flagship's quarterdeck. "Beach head stabilized, Imperator," he reported. "We've begun moving inland."

Yes, they were much alike—the men of the 10th and our Marines at Tarawa: they had the same gripes and growls, the same urges and desires. They had the same excellent training, discipline, pride and high morale. They were battle-ready.

Out at First!

It was at a college tea that the charming and lovely post-grad spied Professor Morgan, the most eligible bachelor on campus but noted for fabulous flights of absent-mindedness, sitting alone on the sidelines. Eyes gleaming in predatory fashion, she immediately moved in on him.

Conversation was almost impossible, as Dr. Morgan immediately lapsed into deep thought at the inception of each new topic. Finally despairing, the woman said, "Tell me, doctor, what are your thoughts on women?"

"Women?" Silence again. "Oh yes . . . women. They're the ones who go backward when dancing, aren't they?"

—THOMAS P. RAMIREZ

RURAL SCHOOLS

Are They Worth Keeping?

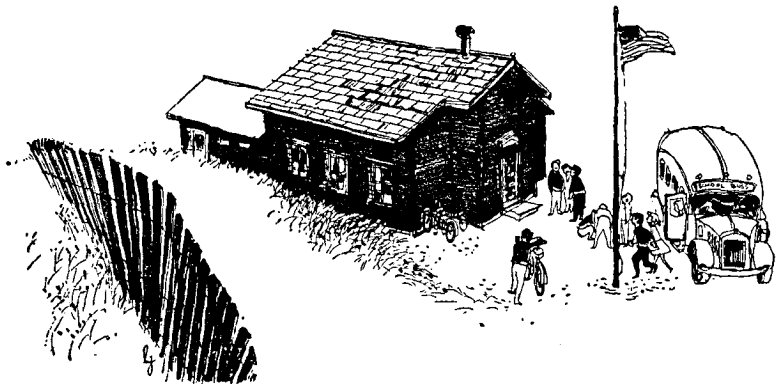
by
Russell Kirk

A distinguished author and educator discusses
the dangers of centralized education

OUR VILLAGE school board was in session, and the man from the university's School of Education had come to tell us how we ought to improve our rural agricultural school. "Consolidation is progress," he said. "I won't pretend that big schools are cheaper," he continued, "but think of the Enrichments! If only you combined your district with three or four others, you could have a swimming-pool, and

a course in ceramics, and a big band, and new stoves in the home-economics department, and many more extra-curricular activities." He beamed patronizingly upon the farmers who compose our school board.

One of those members had his doubts: a shy man in denims. "I don't know," this farmer said, "that what our school needs is Enrichments. Just last week I told



my boy, Joe, to send a fellow a bill for twelve bushels of corn at fifty cents a bushel. 'I'll get my pencil, Dad,' Joe said to me, 'and figure it out.'

"'Figure it out!' I said to Joe: 'Do you mean to say you can't figure twelve bushels at fifty cents a bushel in your head?' Now when I went to our little one-room school, we got along without those Enrichments, but we did learn how to multiply."

This encounter between the education-expert and the school-board member is one symptom of a struggle now in progress between the educational centralizers and rural people in many states. The issues at stake are both curricular and financial. They involve the question of local control of schooling, and the question of whether rural schools can survive at all.

A little frame building with the paint peeling away, a weed-grown yard, a rusty swing—that is what we see, often enough, in any state of the Union. The little red school-house has fallen upon hard times, and abandoned schoolhouses are common. Despite the much-publicized need for more classrooms, several thousand country schools stand empty across the face of the nation. And the reasons for the decay of the rural school are not so simple as they may seem.

Some of those reasons are obvious enough. For one thing, bus transportation now makes it possi-

ble to carry boys and girls to larger schools which, at the beginning of this century, would have been impossibly distant from their farm homes. For another thing, farm population—in relation to town population—has been declining in every state. In some states, farm population has been declining absolutely and therefore a number of rural school districts no longer have enough children to warrant the hiring of a teacher. But there is more than this to the problem.

NOWADAYS the little red school-house seems to be a victim of prejudice. Many educational administrators want to abolish it altogether, and many cities and townships are eager to persuade or compel rural districts to be annexed to urban districts—which would give the urban schools more tax-money. In some Eastern states, country schools have vanished almost entirely, and that process is now at work in the Midwest and the Great Plains. Illinois and Wisconsin have swept away the great majority of rural schools, while in Michigan, the department of public instruction and Governor Williams hope to abolish all rural school districts by 1961. In Michigan, there were 5,500 school districts in 1950; this year there are only 3,190; and the department of public instruction feels that this diminished number can be reduced at least by seventy-five percent.

American public education began in the little red schoolhouse. If the country school is to be abolished, we ought to know the reasons why. If, however, it ought not to be completely abolished then its friends will have to act very swiftly. With the passing of the small school, quite possibly, something may be passing out of American life. That something may be worth saving; and here and there, I think, it can be saved.

In those states which have abolished rural schools, the process has been hastened by legislation and state policy—sometimes against the strongly-expressed wishes of many rural and small-town people. It is worthwhile to look at the arguments on either side of the question.

THE ARGUMENTS are not economic. Well-informed advocates of school consolidation do not maintain that big centralized schools are less expensive than small local schools. On the contrary, statistics reveal that, given an equal number of pupils, it is considerably more expensive to maintain one big central school than to maintain ten or twenty or thirty small-town and country schools. Busses, gasoline, and bus-drivers for transporting students more than use up whatever is saved by abandoning the maintenance of the small school buildings. The costly facilities of the big schools increase the consol-

idated budget—swimming pools, gymnasiums, home-economics rooms, athletic coaches, auditoriums, manual-training departments, the hierarchy of superintendents, principals and supervisors, and all the other items of expense unknown to country schools. Farmers and small-town people who had hoped to reduce their school-taxes by school-district consolidation generally have been disappointed.

In rural Illinois, for instance, where consolidation now is nearly complete, many farmers have found that their school-taxes have increased by as much as two dollars per acre of farmland. Nor do public-education “experts” often maintain that we will save money through centralizing schools. Their reasons for advocating consolidation are of a different origin.

One of their arguments is that boys and girls are benefited socially by mingling with other boys and girls from every sort of home and walk of life. This is the “social integration” theory in public-school circles. Based in part on certain doctrines of John Dewey and George S. Counts, this theory holds that one of the most important purposes of public education is to produce The American: that is, a uniform type of national character and thought, classless and democratic. Dewey and Counts intended this theory to apply to children of families of recent immi-

grants, chiefly in our big cities; but now many educational administrators are trying to apply it to the whole country, regardless of regional and cultural differences. Abolition of rural schools is part of their plan for breaking down regional and vocational distinctions and producing "integrated Americans."

Another argument advanced by the friends of large-scale consolidation is that only in big schools can an "enriched curriculum" be offered. By an "enriched curriculum" they mean, ordinarily, a varied program of organized sports and physical training, well-equipped craft and vocational offerings, numerous student clubs, expensive audio-visual educational tools, big school libraries, gymnasiums, swimming-pools, and the like. It also is possible to offer in big schools a more diverse program of academic, "subject-matter" courses, but state departments of public instruction rarely emphasize that possibility. On the contrary, they sometimes even criticize the small schools for sticking persistently to teaching the old academic disciplines in place of the more modern "enriched curriculum."

A THIRD reason why many school administrators urge large-scale consolidation is not very often expressed publicly by them; but it remains one of their motives. This

is simply that the more a school-system is centralized, the easier it is for the administrators at the summit of that system to prescribe the theories of education that are to prevail in that system, the courses that are to be taught, and how they shall be taught.

Correspondingly, it is easier for these central administrators to appoint their own friends and people who share their educational theories to important posts in such a system. Mr. David Riesman, the author of *The Lonely Crowd*, calls this control of most of our schools by a body of professional educational administrators "the patronage network of Teachers College, Columbia University." Professor Harold Clapp, executive secretary of the Council for Basic Education, calls it "the stranglehold on education."

These three reasons for thoroughgoing school consolidation do not appeal greatly to many small-town and rural people nor do some professional educators have much faith in these arguments. President W. W. Ludeman of Southern State Teachers College, South Dakota, sympathetically summarizes the attitude of the rural population. "These are questions about which farm families are apprehensive," he writes in last January's number of *The Nation's Schools*. "They think of the rural school as a local institution around which much of their community

life has revolved. A large share of the pride in the locality has been centered here." He believes there always will be a need for some one-room rural schools—not to mention larger primary and high schools in rural districts—and that these rural schools can be improved sufficiently to produce results as good as those of big town schools. "To take this local school completely away from the area," he continues, "seems to rob these families of a treasured asset. In some cases it causes hardships brought on by greater distances to be traveled to other schools, or in some instances it forces parents to board and room children away from the protecting shelter of their own home."

TO MR. LUDEMAN'S arguments, other friends of small schools add several more, and I summarize a half-dozen of them here:

(1) Local control of schools, and location of schools within each distinct community, is in keeping with our free and democratic American society, while centralization of the school-system tends to take authority away from parents and communities. In a time when we talk so much about "education for democracy," it seems strange to abolish one of the chief means for preserving practical democracy—that is, locally-controlled schools which serve as so many centers for real community life and interest.

A school system directed from the state capital, and centered in a few big city schools, cannot be genuinely democratic, whatever else it may be. One of the most important things in any society is the feeling of local community, together with the rights of that local community. Excessive school consolidation breaks down this benefit of community-spirit.

(2) Local schools close to the pupils' homes are much kinder to the tender sensibilities and characters of young children. The long bus-ride to a big town school, wasting perhaps two hours of each day for children; the bewildering and frightening influence of the crowds upon rural and small-town children; the large size of classes and the impersonality of teaching in big schools—these things have disturbed many intelligent teachers and parents.

(3) In these troubled times, it is risky to centralize schools—or anything else—excessively. In the event of war or some other disaster, big consolidated schools might be death-traps. And if our gasoline-supply should be reduced, or our transportation-system impaired in some other way, it would be almost impossible to get students to schools miles distant. It seems wise to keep as many schools as possible within walking distance of the children's homes. We talk about decentralization of industry and population in the cause of civil

defense, but we go on centralizing our schools as if we had not a worry in the world.

(4) Schools ought to represent and serve the community, nearly all professional educators seem to agree. The schools ought not to be turned into ideological tools for building some vague utopian new society; instead, they ought to stand for the benefits of our present American society. And that present American society has variety and freedom. Rural people are one element in that free and varied society and rural and small-town people have a right to schools that represent rural life and interests. To argue that children from rural areas ought to be mingled deliberately with city children in a consolidated school carries the implication that there is something wrong with being rural—that rural and small-town people are hicks and rubes, and ought to be made over. This, the friends of rural schools think, is an attitude opposed to our principles of toleration and variety.

(5) By keeping schools close to the home and the community, it is possible to solve the financial problems of schools more easily. People are more willing to support undertakings over which they have some control and direct interest. And so far as the “present crisis in school construction” is concerned, the abandoning of sound existing small schools in order to

crowd rural students into city and big-town schools, which already are bursting at the seams, simply aggravates the difficulty. Often, too, school-construction directly under the eyes of the local school board is more economical than that undertaken or prescribed by central authority. At one rural high school, in Michigan, which persisted in using its own plans for an addition to the school, rather than those recommended by the state department of public instruction, costs were reduced by 82 per cent from the sum the state authorities thought would be necessary.

(6) While control of schools remains in the hands of local authorities, reform and experiment in teaching-methods and in curriculum are easier to undertake. State departments of public instruction tend to hand down uniform and unalterable plans but if local school boards retain their powers, they can restore sound old disciplines, or undertake new ventures in education, without the permission of the tight little knot of administrators in the state capital.

The recent books of Arthur Bestor, Bernard Iddings Bell, Mortimer Smith, and other scholars suggest how greatly our public-school system needs fresh ideas and the restoration of sound old ideas. It is doubtful if these fresh or revived ideas ever are congenial to the average bureaucrat—especially the educational bureaucrat. Here,

as in many other matters, freedom and progress are closely connected with division of power and local rights.

THE MORE intelligent advocates of rural and small-town schools do not argue that our country schools are perfect. For rural schools, like all schools in the United States, ought to be improved in many ways. Nor do the friends of the rural schools want to invade the rights and the financial resources of the big schools. All they ask is the right to keep their own schools. Often they see the need for some prudent consolidation of districts on a local scale, and then they seek permission to unite three or four or five rural districts and to build a common improved school, or perhaps a rural high school. But whether they seek merely to remodel or add to an existing one-room school, or whether they try to consolidate a number of rural districts, they are often blocked by the department of public instructions, which in most states has power under the state school code to grant or deny building-permits and consolidation-requests. Thus the desire of a rural or small-town community is sacrificed to some grandiose scheme and abstract school-district atlas cherished in the state capital.

Probably the fate of country and small-town schools will be decided throughout the nation with-

in the next five years; in several states, 1958 will be the decisive year. Legislation, backed by the advocates of grand-scale consolidation, is being pushed in a dozen states this year to compel the speedy closing of the little red schoolhouse. And next on the schedule of the educational-centralizers is the closing of the larger—four or five room—rural primary schools and of most of the smaller rural and village high schools. Nor is this all: some educational administrators are talking among themselves of how pleasant it would be if an entire state could be consolidated into a single school district, with efficient central administration. And after that, a few of them already say, we ought to be thinking of a uniform system of federal school supervision: “national school integration.”

Rural people, notoriously, often neglect to act until the battle has been lost. This tends to be true in educational questions. In several states, nevertheless, the farmers, the village people, and a considerable number of county school superintendents, high-school superintendents, and teachers, have begun to organize against centralization. In Vermont, the recently-formed Committee for Home Rule in Vermont Towns is informing school boards and rural citizens of their rights; in Michigan, the Association for Rural Education has come out boldly for the retention

of country schools. In most states, the membership of the legislature still is predominantly rural or small-town in origin; so such organizations tend to receive at least a sympathetic hearing.

ONE OF the fairly sure conclusions to be drawn from a serious study of history is that great nations appear to decay when their rural population and their rural vigor have been impaired. The American rural population has grave enough difficulties already, without the fresh blow of being deprived of their own schools by act of legislature. If our rural communities decline further, much that is healthy in American life

will be in peril. Both urban and rural people have a stake in the future of American rural life. One of the hardest blows that can be struck at a community or an element in society is a blow at its public education. Our schools, urban or rural, help to give us a sense of true community and to train us for our civic responsibilities.

However much "enriched" the curriculum at a big consolidated town school might be, it seems doubtful that the alleged "social benefits" to rural children could compensate for the loss of community-sense, local rights, and a schooling in harmony with the pupil's environment.



*Lest We Forget What Lenin, the anti-Christ of the Kremlin,
prophesied:*

"It would be the greatest folly and the most senseless Utopianism to suppose that the transition from capitalism to Socialism is possible without dictatorship. The Marxian theory has long ago, and in the most positive manner, taken a stand against this petty-bourgeois democratic and anarchist nonsense. Every great revolution, but especially the Socialist revolution—even if there had been no external war—is unthinkable without an internal war, that is, civil war, which implies even greater disorder than external war. . . . Anyone who has not learnt from the course of the Russian Revolution that half and half measures are impossible must be finally dropped. We conquered through the methods of suppression. That was yesterday. But today the same revolution demands, and that in the interests of Socialism, the unquestioning subordination of the masses under the single will of the director of the process."

THE CARRIER CORPORATION'S DEMOCRATIC CABINET

by

Alfred K. Allan

**This company found an ingenious way to
promote labor-management understanding**

A SHORT while ago, Cloud Wampler, chairman of the board of the Carrier Corporation, a well-established company which manufactures air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment, reported: "We have never had any so-called labor trouble, not a single work stoppage. I believe this is accounted for chiefly by two things. First, utter frankness on the part of management. Second, a wholehearted attempt on the part of management to educate the employees, while at the same time giving them an opportunity, without limitation, to educate management."

This far-sighted company credo is embodied in Mr. Wampler's pet project—The Carrier Cabinet—an unusual and highly practical method for decreasing labor-management friction and fostering company-wide harmony.

It was in 1946 that Mr. Wampler first conceived the Cabinet idea,

fashioned along the lines of our government's presidential cabinet. Mr. Wampler realized that as the company expanded and its product lines multiplied, upper middle and top management might become increasingly occupied with specialized departmental and divisional responsibilities, and correspondingly they would be less in touch with the wide corporate perspective. Some means of drawing the people of Carrier closer together was urgently needed.

In December, 1946, Mr. Wampler dispatched an invitation to the company's officers, department heads and other major supervisors to attend the Cabinet's first meeting, held at Carrier headquarters in Syracuse, New York. The invitation outlined what were to be the Cabinet's four-fold purposes:

1. To analyze the monthly financial and certain other reports of the Corporation.

2. To advise the members of the group of matters bearing upon the business of the corporation.

3. To obtain the counsel of the members of the group with respect to management problems.

4. To convey information which the members of the group should pass along to their subordinates.

The opening meeting was the beginning of what has now become a permanent fixture at Carrier. The Cabinet includes some 158 representatives from all parts the company—management, foremen, department heads and workers. These representatives then carry back the minutes of the meetings to the other Carrier employees, so that now everyone knows exactly what and how the company is doing.

MEETINGS are held once a month, on the Monday following the meeting of the company's Board of Directors. Starting time is 5 P.M. The meeting is informal and permissive, to encourage all those present to speak bluntly and candidly. First the vice-president and comptroller give the assemblage a complete report on the corporation's operations during the preceding month. This is followed by a report on general business conditions in the industry delivered by the vice-president and treasurer. Mr. Wampler or William Bynum, Carrier president, then reports on ex-

actly what happened at the previous Board of Directors session.

Then comes perhaps the most stimulating part of the meeting, the wide-open question period. Mr. Wampler, who conducts the meetings and rarely misses one, states gratifyingly, "The questions asked are invariably searching and sometimes embarrassing. We lay it on the line to each other. The flow of information is in both directions and here more flows up than down."

Mr. Wampler is a stickler for two-way communication. If he feels that an executive isn't giving the complete answer to a question because the officer may not fully understand the query, he is very apt to jump to his feet and answer the question himself or take steps to see that the full answer is researched and provided to the questioner.

The first question period over, the meeting is adjourned for an informal dinner in the company dining room. After dinner the meeting is reconvened for a two and one-quarter hour program. At each session, a particular division or department prepares a program for the group. At an evening session a short while ago, for example, the members of the Facilities Planning Department outlined in great detail the company's plans for expansion. The evening meeting is capped by another enlightening, no holds barred, question period.

In 1953, Carrier adopted an im-

portant change. The corporation verticalized its management structure in order to create tighter managerial control. Each of Carrier's operating divisions is now, in effect, an individual company with its own development, production, sales and related staffs, and each is responsible for its profit and loss statement. The vice-president in charge reports either to the president or to the senior vice-president.

WITH *this form of organization*, it is vitally important that each division be intimately acquainted with the programs, objectives and progress of the others as well as with the objectives of the Corporation as a whole. The after-dinner meetings fill this need. Carrier people probably know more about all the departments in this large air-conditioning corporation than

do the employees of many small companies.

There have been many more than 100 meetings of the Carrier Cabinet. The success of the idea is apparent as one observes the stability of the company and the well-being of its employees. By making everyone at Carrier a truly integral part of the company's operations, there is now very little labor-management friction and close cooperation is fostered. As Mr. Wampler concludes, "We treat our fellow employees as associates in the Carrier enterprise. This means that 'labor,' whether in factory or office, is never regarded as a commodity. Instead, we recognize the right of each employee to be treated as an individual who is doing an important job. All help the others maintain a high degree of personal dignity."

A little more than two years ago—about the time of the abortive high-level Big Four Conference at Geneva, Secretary of State Dulles assigned his special ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, to Geneva to open direct exploratory negotiations with Wang Ping-nan, special envoy of Red China. They were to discuss the release of U.S. prisoners in China.

These special ambassadors now have met for 68 sessions. *They began on August 1, 1955.* The U.S. prisoners still are in China. Each of the 68 sessions has brought forth a brief press communique: "Today's meeting brought no change in the deadlock."

Diplomacy evolved through the ages as a system of contacts between civilized peoples. To have two ambassadors meeting 68 times over a period of two years without results surely is no service to peace.

In our view, America would be served better by a firm repetition of the historic dictum so often demonstrated in our dealings with Moscow: "*You can't do business with Communism!*"



What has happened to the Greek children
seized by the Russians nine years ago?

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THE GREAT ABDUCTION: 28,000 GREEK CHILDREN!

by Ben Berkey

IT WAS bitter cold that spring morning in 1948, when a mother's anguished cry rang out. Word had come to her and hundreds of other Greek mothers that their children were to be taken from them and sent to an undisclosed destination.

The Greek mothers did not believe it at first—not until they had seen with their own eyes the bulletin that had been posted in the village square. *The big lettering screamed the terrible warning:*

"Prepare your children to leave tomorrow morning at 5 A.M. All children between the ages of 4 and 18 must be ready . . ."
Peoples Police.

The official-looking proclamation dropped like a bombshell on every Greek family, for the Greeks are a prolific people and almost every house in the village was full of children.

Before 5 A.M., the children were awakened and told that they must dress quickly and prepare for a long journey, that it was merely a holiday and that they would return in a few days.

They did not return in a few days. The world now knows that only a handful have since been returned to their families. The others were sent behind the Iron Curtain to satellite countries—Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The true story of the Great Abduction will probably never be known. There is little doubt that the fear of death has been drilled into children's minds, should they so much as whisper about their experiences—if they are ever released to return to their homes.

If the object of the wholesale kidnapping had been merely to spare the Greek children dangers of the civil war, there were other ways of removing them to places of safety. At any rate, the children should have been returned long ago.

Of the 28,000 taken, only about 1,000 were returned. No one knows what has happened to the others.

It is now apparent that the real motive behind the kidnapping was strictly ideological. In Russia's plans for her future, there is an inhuman quality of dedication to a

single purpose—to perpetuate its perverted religion. What better way to accomplish this than through the innocent minds of children?

In the Soviet Union's scheme of things, all children are wards of the State. The kidnapped boys and girls whose ages ranged from 4 to 18 were destined to become the guinea pigs of a terrible experiment.

Twenty-eight thousand children meant that there would be 28,000 more carefully indoctrinated communists in the world.

Let us imagine what took place that fateful morning:

The children perhaps visualized, with delight, a few happy days of fun and frolic in some strange, far-off place. However, like Pied-Pipers, the communist guerrillas led them from each doorstep and toward waiting trucks. From there they were taken to the railroad station and sealed trains. Their next destination was the frontier.

From there they would perhaps be sent to a forced labor camp in one of a dozen satellite countries, or to a State-controlled farm where labor is at a premium. But most likely these children would be taken to an "indoctrination camp" where those with the wrong ideas about social questions are taught the "correct theories."

Labor camps, the Reds insist, are not "torture chambers" but simply "re-educational centers" beneficial to the workers.

These camps are situated in areas well away from main highways or railroads. Most of them, for obvious reasons, are near mining regions or large industrial centers. In Slovakia, the slave labor camps run into the dozens and are busy centers for deportation to the USSR.

A BREAKDOWN of a daily labor camp schedule will throw some light on the miserable existence of slave laborers:

They arise at 5 A.M. Roll call is held out of doors regardless of the weather. At 12:30 A.M., work is stopped, and the laborers receive their first meal—a bowl of thin soup and a dish of a mixture of flour and gravy.

Work is stopped again at 7:00 P.M., when their evening meal consists of boiled potatoes, coffee and one slice of bread. Those who are fortunate enough to be enrolled in the "voluntary brigade" for special work, receive extra favors. As for hygienic facilities, none exist in a great many of the camps. One pail of water must often do for 25 inmates.

In the winter, in a score of camps, water was scarce, due to the freezing of pipes, and the prisoners melted the snow they scooped up from the ground.

Since these conditions are well known in every Greek village, is it any wonder mothers of missing children lie sleepless at night un-

able to ease the pain in their hearts?

THE International Red Cross wages a losing battle to bring 20,000 children from behind the Iron Curtain and unite them with their parents in Greece. The satellite nations have defied all efforts by the Red Cross and the United Nations to return the children. Five years ago, the Red Cross was ready to abandon all hope.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the League of Red Cross societies, Greek delegate Michel Pesmazoglu conceded defeat. It was useless, he told the members, to try reasoning with the Russians. Their excuse, in the words of the Russian delegate, B. M. Packov, was that the Greeks could not offer sufficient "guarantees" for him to return the children!

This unpalatable bit of "double talk" was the Russian answer to the committee. Small wonder that Delegate Pesmazoglu and Queen Fredericka and King Paul have repeatedly appealed to the United Nations for assistance.

Another thing is worrying the Greek mothers. A Greek Red leader, who bolted the party and escaped from Poland, revealed that there were almost 2,000 Greek children there, and the Reds were forcing them to learn the Russian language. He also revealed that he had heard a report while in Po-

land, that about 300 of the Greek children are being put to work in uranium mines in East Germany.

What do the Reds mean to do with the Greek children?

What is the Soviet Union's ultimate plan for them?

The saga of the missing Greek children is certainly an inglorious chapter in the history of a nation whose acts of terrorism rival those of the dark ages.

John A. Tzounis, director of Information Service of the Royal Greek Embassy, in Washington, D. C., has this to say about the kidnapping of the Greek children:

"Not all of the children have been returned. In fact, only a small percentage has been repatriated. Out of 28,000 children which were kidnapped, only about 1,000 have been returned by Yugoslavia. The others were taken to other communist countries, such as Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the USSR. These countries have heretofore stubbornly resisted all efforts of the Greek government and the United Nations to secure repatriation of the children.

"Although nearly all of the villages of Northern Greece suffered losses, three specific villages which I could mention are: Filiates (Epirus), Kryphouvouno (Thrace) and Erseka (Macedonia).

"From such reports as are available, it would appear that the children were well cared for in special camps and schools.

"They were taught Greek and were, of course, subjected to thorough communist indoctrination. The purpose of such treatment was to impress these children, most of whom came from areas that had suffered wide-spread devastation during the war, with the obvious advantages of the communist system. Thus, they could be turned into ardent communist agents and used at a later date against their own country."

Director Tzounis' words have the unmistakable ring of truth about them, and one hopes that the Greek children are indeed well cared for—wherever they are. Still, one cannot completely discount the stories from communist countries' escapees who have seen some of

the children in Russian slave labor camps.

ONE OF THE greatest stumbling blocks to the anti-God forces throughout history has been that they have failed to stem the tide of their countrymen to turn to their Maker. The repercussions of this inhuman act against innocent children will continue to batter at the wall of Communism, until one day it will help to demolish the structure of tyranny and deceit.

Perhaps, by some miracle of transmission, the facts may smash through the Iron Curtain of silence, dispelling the darkness and gloom of modern slavery, and the whole world will learn the truth about the Great Abduction.

Public Notice

Standard reply written by Washington hotel owner to inquiries whether dogs are permitted at his establishment:

"I've never known a dog to steal towels, get drunk or slip away without paying his bill. You and your pooch will be most welcome."

Safe driving slogan appearing in Des Moines, Iowa:

"Its Better To Be Mr. Smith Coming Home Late Than The Late Mr. Smith."

Sign in a Miami reducing salon:

"A Girl Whose Dates Always Bring Her Straight Home Isn't Going Anywhere"

Business card being handed out by Bay City, Michigan, man:

"Russell J. Tilton, retired—no phone, no address, no business, no money."

Address on letter of peeved taxpayer, with check included:

"City Haul,
Boston, Massachusetts."

—Harold Helfer

GSA's

by Max Finley

*Roosevelt bureaucrats
still rule this agency*

FEW AMERICANS noticed one of the cleverest ruses that the Truman Administration put over on the American taxpayer. It involved the creation of General Services Administration on July 1, 1949, some five months after the inauguration of Harry S. Truman.

The GSA was perhaps as nobly conceived as any Government bureau ever was. It was the first important outgrowth of the Hoover Commission which worked as a bi-partisan group at reorganizing the haphazard, uneconomical bureaucracy that had grown up under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

Starting with a framework of four bureaus, the new agency began its inner organization along economical lines. It was welcomed

far and wide by a press eager to applaud Harry S. Truman for using the talents of the much-abused ex-President Herbert Hoover. What no one seemed to notice, however, was that one of the four bureaus reorganized was as phony as anything ever perpetrated by political skulduggery.

GSA began with the former Public Buildings Administration, salvaged from the old Federal Works Agency. Its large personnel, reaching far and wide into every state of the union, managed and operated Government-owned and leased buildings for most of the Government bureaus. The next unit to be brought into the new organization was the former Bureau of Federal Supply, taken out of the Treasury Department. Its chief duties consisted of buying in quantity, storing, and furnishing to other Government agencies most administrative and other supplies and equipment needed. Later, as a defense agency, that bureau began a program of stockpiling scarce commodities useful in war.

The third bureau to come into the Great Experiment was the National Archives, formerly an independent office. Its duties were to store and to guard important and more or less permanent records and documents for the entire Government. It published *The Federal Register*, an official periodical containing presidential proclamations, executive orders of general applica-

bility and legal effect, and other important and official documents. The National Archives also published other periodicals and reports, including the important *US Government Manual*. It did (and still does) manage the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. It likely will take over the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Missouri, after that private institution has satisfied Mr. Truman's personal whims for awhile and begins to feel the need for operating funds.

Much publicity attended the merger of these three diverse but important units of the Government. It looked so much like a stroke of genius in Government planning that no one noticed the fourth "bureau" that was given asylum in the new agency. It was the already defunct War Assets Administration.

NEWSPAPERS all over the land had been crying out at the continued existence of the large top-heavy War Assets offices, long after their work had been accomplished. Thousands upon thousands of clerks had been released slowly in relays, many of them absorbed by other agencies, including GSA's legitimate bureaus, as they were taken from lists of unemployed kept by the Civil Service Commission.

A fact not generally noticed was that, as the WAA clerical jobs

were abandoned under public pressure, the higher jobs were kept on far out of proportion to their declining need. These were held by political favorites of the Truman Administration. When an occasional one of these favorites left for what appeared to be a more secure job, a new kind of war profiteer arose in the form of lesser favorites who were promoted into the vacant and unneeded positions. They, in this way, gained experience as "top" administrators. This phony device gave the political hacks vast salary privileges and preference in rank as they later on dropped back into legitimate jobs in the service.

Unlike the other three bureaus in the new agency, which brought with them assets in the form of active jobs, with skilled personnel, the WAA brought a host of idle people and a vast quantity of dead files. Many accounts receivable were brought along, but it turned out that a large proportion of them had to be written off gradually as uncollectible.

The War Assets Administration personnel consisted largely of people who were veterans of the old WPA, the CAS, OPM, OEM, and many other people who got their start in Government in the old Roosevelt non-civil service bureaus. They received their original jobs through political endorsement, and began work outside the competitive examination system by

means of which the other bureaus had been largely staffed. A large per cent of those holding the best paying jobs were not war veterans, but had climbed to their high rank as less lucky men left for military service. This was the bureau that was given dominance in the new agency.

Needless to say, the best jobs went almost exclusively to these veterans of the Roosevelt bureau and to their favorites. During the years that have elapsed since the so-called reorganization took place, the new masters have pressured old and faithful employees of the other bureaus into premature retirement—or out of the Government entirely. The Washington offices of GSA were so extensively staffed that out in the ten regional offices a common joke spread that Truman was stockpiling the old emergency workers to be ready for the next war!

THE BASIC functional concept governing the new organization appears to be a close integration of the bureaus into a compact whole. One accounts branch serves them all, as does a single administrative services branch (called "Management" by those who like high-sounding names) and a single motor pool. Compactness of this sort is no doubt a step in the right direction, but it is debatable if money has been saved for the taxpayer. The highly graded and

high salaried jobs that were created to staff the integrated organization appear to cost far more than the combined supervisory and administrative staffs of the former three legitimate bureaus.

Job gradation and salary scales were shored up in the new agency to support the already inflated salaries enjoyed by the former WAA personnel. It was common for "key" employees in the former bureaus to be raised two to four grades, for work not much different from what they had always done. This was to support and match the high grades of the patronage people. It was highly flattering to the old PBA and BFS people who had worked for years at jobs classified and graded by the legitimate Civil Service Commission.

Not only did the Truman Administration take care of the surplus bureaucrats with this ruse, but also aided them in maintaining their inflated salaries through the creation of the Classification Act of 1949. This act took away from the Civil Service Commission much of the initiative in classification and grading of Government personnel. It is true that job standards created by the CSC are supposed to be used by the administrative agencies. But it is relatively easy to describe jobs that sound much more complex than those for which existing standards are available. Many of the War As-

sets people were past masters at this sort of thing. They had belonged to wildcat agencies so long that they had learned many tricks of artfully dodging the established rules and regulations which govern salary policies in the Government.

ONE OF the commonest publicity stories put out by GSA's staff of writers has been about the huge sums of money which the agency has allegedly saved the taxpayer.

There are certain types of savings that the agency was created to make. Personnel in the Federal Supply Service, many of them skilled long before GSA existed, are experts at quantity buying, warehousing and distribution. Much of the so-called "savings" are integral parts of their jobs and are not of the type that are over and above duty, a circumstance that might justify publicity stories.

Since the Korean war, thousands of square feet of space in rented buildings have been released by the Public Buildings Service. If the huge savings claimed by the publicity stories include these items, it is as if the US Army were boasting of the vast sums saved by reducing the firing line! Skilled people in the PBS were saving the Government's money in prudent leasing and use of space long before GSA was born. No legitimate yardstick has yet been evolved to measure real savings by

unusual and unexpected skill of the experienced personnel.

Not all is pleasant within the ranks of GSA. Rumblings of dissatisfaction among the non-War Assets personnel of the agency have existed from the start. These have been kept at a minimum by flattering promotions and salary increases and, on occasion, by stern coercion.

Two years ago certain alleged irregularities in space acquisition were told about in the *Kansas City Star* as having occurred in the Kansas City Regional Office of GSA. A large but old downtown building was purchased by someone for the sum of \$100,000. It was almost immediately leased by GSA at a rental of \$52,000 per annum.

The investigation was conveniently left to the skilled tactics of the Central Office in Washington. The Deputy Regional Director in charge of Public Buildings Service, under whom the lease had been executed, had left for private employment some time before the news story broke, but the Regional Director himself, W. A. Holloway, Jr., a Truman appointee, stayed on. Thus far the *Star* has made no report on the findings of the investigators.

At the same regional office, the Civil Service Commission suddenly asserted its right in 1954 to "desk audit" the unusually high salaries being paid in the various

bureaus of GSA's Kansas City office. In the Office of the Regional Comptroller, the audit revealed that 27 of the 58 employees were over-graded by Civil Service standards from one to four grades. The high-salaried War Assets people in the office quickly organized a skilled campaign of letter writing to Congressmen, Senators, and to the President of the United States in protest. A seven-page mimeographed paper was prepared so that paragraphs might be chosen in a way that no two letters sounded alike. In the panic that arose at the office, word spread around that there might be Communist influence back of the wholesale downgrading! One New Deal Congressman, however, nipped this in the bud. He wrote to the appellants saying that the action

was undoubtedly the result of the Republicans' unrealistic policy of economy. The CSC later took the matter under advisement. A few token downgradings occurred out of the intended 27, but no War Assets employee was hurt. The CSC saved face, and has not interfered in recent wide-scale up-gradings.

Just how long the Congress will maintain its "hands off" policy toward this most-favored agency is anybody's guess. The Republican Party has not felt itself strong enough to arouse the ire of the old Roosevelt bureaucrats by ousting the Regional Directors, their deputies, and the great cohort of political hacks who draw high salaries out of the funds appropriated to the Hoover Commission's offspring.

Discarded Playing Cards on the Battlefields

The men in blue and gray fought many battles and encamped on numerous hillsides during the Civil War. After the smoke had cleared and the last shot had been fired, the thousands of uniformed men would move away from their most recent scene of carnage. Their paraphernalia could be seen littering the area. Numerous observers of these battle-sites point out that discarded decks of playing cards were seen most regularly in the wake of advancing or retreating armies. It was later learned from veterans themselves that they would throw away these "tools of the devil" before entering battle. If they were unlucky enough to stop a bullet or a piece of shrapnel, they did not want to face the unknown, or their Maker, with a deck of playing cards in their pocket. A greater peace of mind was attained by those who thus scattered their cards to the four winds.

—DONALD BENTZ

*Unheeded by the rest of the world,
the bloody struggle for self-determi-
nation goes on in the South Moluccas*

THE FORGOTTEN WAR *in the Pacific*

by Charles Oxton

IN A FOXHOLE on an island off the coast of New Guinea, a wounded native soldier grimly scribbles a message on a wrinkled piece of paper. Stuffing it into a mud-splattered envelope, he hands it to the medical corpsman giving him emergency first aid.

In time, with the help of a sympathetic battalion commander and a passing tramp steamer, the message finds its way to the soldier's brother in an internment camp in far-off Holland—and there it disappears. No hint of its contents leaks beyond the confines of the compound, despite the frantic efforts of the brother to arrange it. No clue as to the identities of the sender or recipient or the circumstances surrounding their predicament reaches the outside world.

For more than six years now incidents like this have been happening almost daily, and always with the same frustrating results. Lost in the plethora of publicity

attending every attempt to reconcile international differences and put an end to the cold war, they bear mute testimony to the fact that a hot war, one that may eventually decide the fate of all Southeast Asia is today being waged with indescribable bitterness and savagery in the far reaches of the South Pacific.

Unmentioned in the press, ignored by television and radio, men are fighting and dying on a score of scattered, jungle-dotted islands only two hours flying time from Port Darwin, Australia, and little more than five hours by air from Singapore. Using a combination of ancient native weapons and modern firearms, tanks and artillery, they are now in the *seventh year* of a bloody struggle, the issues of which have been before the United Nations since the summer of 1950, with a singular absence of any significant results.

The contending forces—the newly-created Federation of Indonesian

States on the one hand, and the patchwork army of the Republic of the South Moluccas on the other, continue to decimate each other's manpower under the same identical banners of "democracy." At this writing, they are no nearer a final decision than they were before.

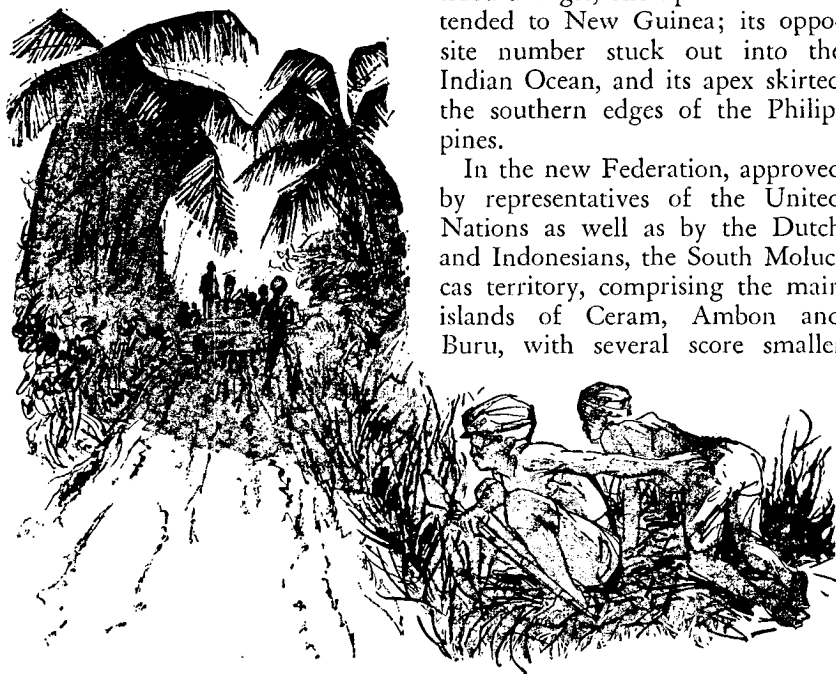
BASICALLY, the whole situation stems from the Dutch-Indonesian conflict of postwar days when the peoples of Indonesia, including

the South Moluccans, won their independence from Holland.

In 1949, at a Round Table Conference at The Hague, the Netherlands Government transferred the 350-year-old sovereignty of the East Indian Archipelago to a Federation of Indonesian States known as the Republik Indonesia Serikat or, more simply, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

The capital of the Federation became Jakarta, formerly Batavia, on the island of Java, with all its component parts spread out in a lop-sided triangle, one tip of which extended to New Guinea; its opposite number stuck out into the Indian Ocean, and its apex skirted the southern edges of the Philippines.

In the new Federation, approved by representatives of the United Nations as well as by the Dutch and Indonesians, the South Moluccas territory, comprising the main islands of Ceram, Ambon and Buru, with several score smaller



islands rimming a rough perimeter, belonged to the component state of East Indonesia.

In the charter of sovereignty-transfer, it was expressly stipulated that the various and diverse peoples inhabiting the Indian Archipelago had the "right of self determination" in accordance with the principles of the UN. Early in 1950, the South Moluccans claim, this charter was violated by the Java-based Republik Indonesia. With the use of organized armed force which it alone possessed, the Jakarta Government, according to the South Moluccans, proceeded systematically to dissolve all other component territories. Its object: to replace the Federation by a Unitary State which would dominate all Indonesia.

IN THE SPRING of 1950, shortly after the East Indonesian State Government on the island of Celebes was forcibly overthrown by the Javanese, the South Moluccans seceded from the Federation. On April 25, backed, according to Moluccan Government spokesmen, "by giant demonstrations of unanimous resolve" and through their legally "and freely elected representatives," the independent Republic of the South Moluccas was proclaimed, free from both Dutch and Indonesian control.

In Jakarta, 1500 miles away, the announcement triggered the government of President Sukarno into

immediate retaliatory action. Denouncing the South Moluccans for acts of mutiny against the spirit, if not the letter of the Federation's charter, the Javanese promptly dispatched troops to the South Moluccan islands. With their twenty-fold superiority in arms and men, it was confidently predicted that the operation would last "little more than four days."

A full week later, not only had the operation failed of full success; all that had been achieved was a small beachhead on the Amboinese coast. In spite of tanks and heavy artillery which were landed on the foothold, and even with sustained sea and air support, it took six weeks of bitter and continuous fighting before the Jakarta forces were able to make any significant headway.

At present, certain areas of Ambona, Buru and other smaller islands are held by the Indonesian troops and the population suffers the rigors of a full-scale military occupation. But elsewhere a stalemate has ensued. Large areas of the new republic still remain under effective control of the South Moluccan Government, with the main center of resistance on the island of Ceram. To break this stalemate, the Javanese have resorted to a total blockade, hoping to starve the South Moluccans into submission.

Defiant but desperate, South Moluccan representatives have ap-

pealed repeatedly to the United Nations to intervene. Particularly have they sought the support of the UN Commission for Indonesia to examine the cause of the conflict. This Commission had played an important part in the Indonesian struggle for independence and, following the Round Table Conference at The Hague, had taken on the job of supervising the implementation of the agreement granting freedom to the former East Indian empire of the Dutch.

To its credit, the UNCI did request permission from the Javanese authorities to visit the battle area, but this permission was promptly denied. The only explanation given for the refusal was that the matter constituted "an internal affair of the Indonesian Federation" and did not call for any outside aid.

In October, 1950, the UNCI took the only course left to it: it reported the case to its sponsor, the Security Council of the UN. On October 30, Warren Austin, then president of the Council, did his best to bring the situation to a head. After the opinions of all the members had been polled he bluntly said that, as a representative of the United States, he was instructed to declare that his government thought the question should be acted upon by the Security Council "at the earliest possible date."

FROM THAT DAY to this, the Council has failed to act either on

Austin's plea or on the report of its own Indonesian Commission. Meanwhile, the Jakarta Government has clamped down what amounts to a news "blackout" of the whole dispute. Only occasionally does word filter through the strict Jakarta Army censorship that fighting is still in progress and even then the information is so fragmentary as to make hardly any impression at all.

One of the few instances that an American newspaper carried an account of the struggle happened more than five years ago. On November 25, 1952, the *New York Times* carried a report from Macassar to the effect that two army transports carrying reinforcements to Amboina from Java had been held up in the Celebes. No reason for the delay was given and it would have taken a more than casual student of world affairs to read into the item anything of immediate significance.

Even more obscure, so far as giving any hint that a full-scale war was actually in progress, was the four or five line announcement in several European newspapers to the effect that the courts had confirmed the validity of an order preventing the Jakarta Government from forcing the demobilization in their territory of some 5,000 Moluccan soldiers who had belonged to the former East Indian Army. This Army had been liquidated as a result of the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to

the Indonesian Federation and while this liquidation was in progress, the war between the South Moluccas and the Jakarta Government had broken out.

Naturally, the South Moluccan troops had refused to be demobilized by people they considered their aggressors. They even demanded that they be returned to their home islands to take part in their defense. When this was refused and the courts ruled that they could not be returned to the area controlled by Java, internment for them in Holland remained as the only solution.

The soldier in the DP camp in the Netherlands who received the message from the island foxhole of his brother on the other side of the world, is one of these 5,000. Together with some 9,000 other South Moluccan nationals—or a total of 14,000 in all—these exiles are still the “wards” of the Dutch. Unless something is done soon, they will continue to suffer in surroundings as cold and restrictive as their own home islands are warm, and to a considerable degree, still free. For people who are Melanesian rather than Indonesian in race, habits, customs and culture, the situation is intolerable.

WHO is to blame in the whole affair? Only a reasonably impartial international tribunal can determine.

Neither the Jakarta Government,

operating under the “state of war and siege” proclaimed by President Sukarno on March 15, 1957, nor the Government of the South Moluccas can be expected to sit down now with one another and arbitrate the dispute. Even if the war were just starting, instead of being in its seventh year, this would be impossible. Spokesmen for the Jakarta Government consider the South Moluccans to be “rebels.” The South Moluccans just as righteously contend that the Jakarta Government is, in fact, no government at all; that no constitution by the will of the people has been written; that the administration holds power only through the original revolutionary council which came into existence to fight the Dutch. They assert that the latest attempt by Sukarno to win popular support—a self-styled “guide democracy” embodying a “mutual-help cabinet” and a “national advisory council” (the latter to give advice to the cabinet and parliament whether requested to or not)—is remarkably like the rule of Mao Tse-Tung in Red China. Mao’s government, they declare, deeply impressed Sukarno during his visit to the China mainland in 1956 and he is still operating under its spell.

“The democracy of America and the West is not acceptable to Sukarno for obvious reasons,” Karel J. V. Nikijuluw, chairman of the South Moluccan delegation to the

United States, recently declared. "Sukarno knows he would not last long under a genuinely democratic system. That is why there has never been a truly democratic action to create the one-state Republic of Indonesia. The artificial creation of the unitary Republic was accomplished only by jailing federal leaders, by infiltrating and intimidating the federal states—all under the direction of Sukarno."

WHATEVER the merits of the charges and counter-charges, the fact remains that so long as the situation is allowed to persist, present-day Indonesia is a threat to the peace of the whole free world. All over the Archipelago insurrections occur, local leaders acquire power, gangs terrorize, military units disclaim responsibility. Meanwhile, the suffering population is a fertile breeding ground for Communism, a fact brought out in the recent general elections which, while they did not affect the South Moluccans since the latter had already cast their ballots to confirm their right to "self determination," nevertheless saw the official rise to

power of what is, in fact, an Indonesian Communist Party.

Already the Reds have gained control of Indonesia's labor unions with the result that nationwide strikes and social upheavals have led to recurrent invocation of martial law.

Gradually, the situation is developing into a struggle for power between the Communists and the Military even in those areas untouched by the South Moluccan conflict. Caught in the middle, the seeds of democracy, political self-determination and economic reform are slowly but surely being crushed.

Should the condition continue to deteriorate, should the new Federation fall completely, then all of Southeast Asia with its treasure-house of tin, rubber, petroleum and spices may fall with it and the road down the Archipelago, followed by the Japanese during World War II, will lie open for Communist conquest.

Unless the free world takes some immediate, remedial action, the Reds will not sit back and let the opportunity go unheeded for very long.

The farmhand insisted on carrying a lighted lantern when he paid nightly court to a neighbor's daughter. The thrifty farmer objected to this unnecessary waste of kerosene.

"When I courted my old woman I didn't carry no lantern!" he scoffed bitterly.

"Yeh," the hand agreed, "but look what you got." —EDWARD O'CONNOR

**A small band of courageous Confederates and a
boat that wouldn't float shocked the Union
Navy and carved a place in History.**

by James C. Butler

IN CHARLESTON, South Carolina, the evening of February 17, 1864, fell bright, clear and crisp. On a small pier jutting into the quiet waters of the harbor stood Lieutenant George E. Dixon, a Confederate Army officer serving on special duty with the Navy. He strode impatiently up and down the dock, pausing occasionally to shout instructions to the men bustling about a small, queer-looking object lying low in the water.

February of 1864 found the Confederate situation in the Civil War precarious. Rebel victories came few and far between. An incredible Union blockade of the vast Southern coastline prevented supply vessels from reaching Confederate ports with vitally-needed war materiel. The South was starving. To survive, it was imperative that the blockade be broken—at any cost.

Lt. Dixon knew well the overwhelming importance of his strategic mission as he ordered six crewmen through a small opening atop the strange craft. Dock hands,

shouting grim wishes of good luck, quickly cast off the lines. Then the hatch clanged shut on a radical weapon of war that the Confederates hoped would turn the tide of battle.

Within the hour these seven brave men and their unique craft were to perform an act which had never before been accomplished in



the history of the world. They were within minutes of achieving fame that would stand unsurpassed for half a century. They were riding for a rendezvous with history—in a submarine.

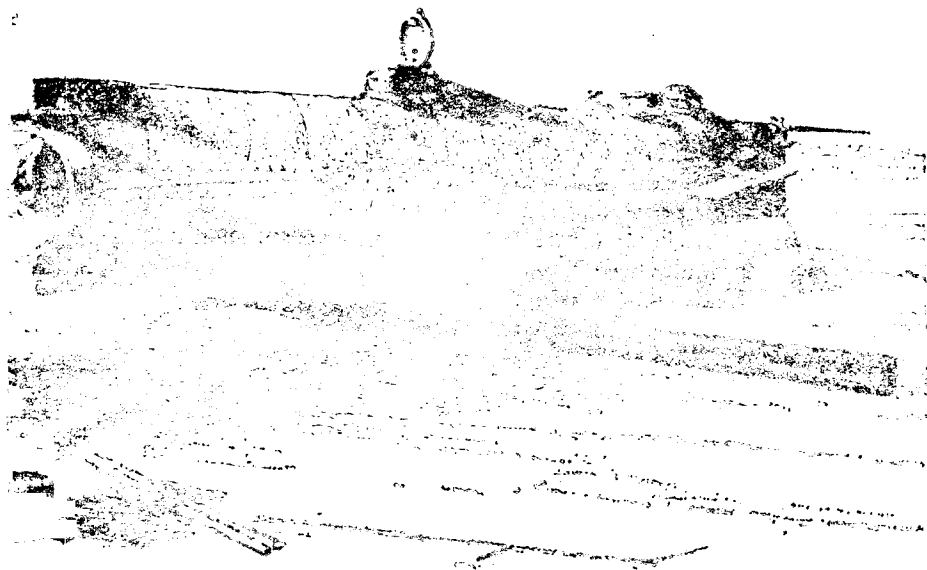
ALTHOUGH this was the maiden combat voyage for this Civil War ship, her past was plagued with such repetitious disaster that it seemed inconceivable there were seven men in the entire Confederate States of America crazy enough to volunteer for duty on her. Perspiration drenched each man sealed in the steel hull—for each knew he had entrusted his life to a ship jinxed from the beginning.

The story begins in 1862 when a farsighted inventor named H. L.

Hunley of Mobile, Alabama, built the submarine. The craft was about 35 feet long, four feet wide and five feet high. It rode low in the water and looked like a giant iron cigar, yet was complete down to diving fins, ballast tanks and a rudimentary conning tower with glass eye-ports.

For power, the crewmembers turned a crankshaft-shaped rod which passed through the center of the vessel and connected with the propeller. Hunley intended that his revolutionary craft would tow a torpedo, dive under its objective, then surface—dragging the torpedo against the target.

On her first test cruise the *Hunley*, as she became known, proudly disappeared beneath the surface of



the water to the awe of onlookers, then promptly stuck her nose in the mud. The entire crew suffocated before she could be raised from the bottom.

Undaunted, Mr. Hunley re-fined his vessel, picked another crew and tested her several more times in Mobile Bay. She appeared ready to go to war, so in 1863 the submarine was loaded onto a flat-car and sent to battle in Charleston.

Said Engineer Hunley, "This brave device will murder their flat bottoms." Instead, a Confederate steamer lumbered too close to the *Hunley's* dock and the rough water swamped her. Six crewmen drowned.

Again the ship was raised and again a strike against the Federals was planned. With dismaying repetition another steamer kicked up a fuss nearby and the unstable *Hunley* sheepishly rolled over and sank. Four died.

BACK IN MOBILE inventor Hunley decided he ought to go to Charleston himself. With him he brought his close, personal friend, Lt. Dixon of the 21st Alabama Infantry.

Together they taught a new crew to master the eccentric submarine; then Mr. Hunley himself took the helm of the "mechanical whale" for a test dive. It happened again. For the fourth time she dived straight to the bottom, asphyxiat-

ing the hapless inventor and his crew before salvage teams could raise the craft and uncork the hatch.

"The Peripatetic Coffin" was now the *Hunley's* unromantic sobriquet. Four trips to the bottom left much doubt about the craft's practicality. Nevertheless, loyal Confederate sailors, soldiers and even civilians begged and pleaded for a chance to serve on the iron coffin.

And Dixon persisted too. Late in 1863 he ordered another test and from the shore watched the *Hunley* submerge successfully and navigate easily beneath the surface. Then she tried to pass under the target ship and blundered headlong into a dangling anchor chain. Death toll: seven.

Five sinkings, two years of tests, and still the *Hunley* wasn't perfected. But the Civil War had reached the point where, regardless of preparedness, the submarine must be sent to battle. It was time the *Hunley* fired a shot. She could wait no longer.

Lt. Dixon was given orders on February 17, 1864, to attack the *USS Housatonic*, a new Federal gunboat patrolling the channels leading into Charleston harbor.

But a special qualification was made in the order—the *Hunley* could be used only as a surface craft. She could not submerge. Instead of dragging a torpedo, she would mount her warhead on a

spar in front and ram her victim, a frightfully dangerous method.

From a huge group of men who pleaded to sail the mission, Lt. Dixon chose six of the ablest seamen he could find.

Like himself, one was an Army officer, Captain J. F. Carlson. The other five crew-members, who served as human pistons on the elongated crankshaft, were Arnold Becker, James A. Wicks, C. Simpkins, F. Collins and a man named Ridgway, all members of the Confederate Navy.

THE BRILLIANT moonlight of that fateful eve in February illuminated the *Hunley* as she silently stole across Charleston harbor and pointed east toward the ocean.

Lt. Dixon gazed long at the Federal picket line stretched on the horizon, picked out his target and gave the order for the *Hunley's* dash into history.

Instantly the iron hulk came alive as six men sprang into action for their commander.

"Full speed ahead."

The crew bent their backs to the crankshaft as the *Hunley* labored through the rough ocean breakers. Five hundred yards from the *Housatonic*, according to Dixon's rough calculations, the *Hunley* had gained open sea. At 250 yards Dixon could make out the faint outline of the enemy's cannon.

On the *Housatonic*, Master J. F. Crosby, officer of the deck, was

making his regular rounds shortly before nine o'clock. Suddenly, an object bobbing about 200 yards to the starboard caught his eye. He squinted, straining for a better view. The object appeared on the crest of a wave then disappeared into a trough.

"Looks like a plank," thought Master Crosby. "But I'd better get my glasses to make sure." He began walking to the bow of the *Housatonic*.

By the time Master Crosby fetched his glasses, he didn't need them. Seventy-five yards from the starboard side of the vessel, clearly visible now under the dazzling moonlight, rushed the queerest looking ship he'd ever seen.

"Sound general quarters," bel-lowed the Master. "Slip anchor. Back off."

The darkened, quiet sloop came alive. Deckhands struggled with the heavy anchor chain. Gun crews uncovered ugly-snouted cannon. The Captain came running from his chart room. However, it was too late.

"Fifty yards," cried Dixon. "Maintain present speed. The instant we hit, reverse that screw."

"Thirty-five yards." The *Hunley* streaked for a point slightly forward of the mainmast of the *Housatonic*.

"Twenty yards."

"Fifteen."

"Ten."

"Five."

THE SCRAPE of metal against wood sounded above the slap-slap of the ocean. Then a flash of light, an ear-shattering blast reverberated through the drum-tight *Hunley* and a giant plume of water soared into the air

"Reverse," screamed Dixon. And seven men sweated and prayed.

The *Housatonic* shuddered from stem to stern and gave a huge leap in the water. Her starboard side was a mass of broken, twisted timbers. She was split open from deck to keel and along half her length. As the stricken gunboat settled back heavily in the water, the sea raged powerfully into the gaping hole in her side. Her powder magazine had blown.

The *Housatonic* was doomed. Success had finally come to the *Hunley*. But not really—even in this moment of glorious victory, misfortune plagued the brave Confederate ship. The cold sea cascading violently into the *Housatonic* churned and boiled and whirled in violent eddies. Caught in the middle of this whirlpool was the tiny *Hunley*. Her little propeller spun frantically but she could not back away from her victim. The powerful ocean had the submarine in a vise-like grip.

Slowly, but steadily, the *Hunley* was drawn closer to the huge rip in the *Housatonic*.

Inside, the crew whirled fran-

tically on the crankshaft. Outside, the ocean tugged ever-faster at the *Hunley*.

With ever-increasing speed the *Hunley* was dragged closer and closer to certain death—the *Hunley* was about to be swallowed alive.

With a final, quick, lightning rush, the *Hunley* was gone—sucked into the wound of her sinking victim. In five minutes the Federal gunboat was at the bottom of the ocean. Locked tight within her was the pitiful *Hunley*. Death for the sixth time had come to the little craft but this time it was not in vain.

With her courageous exploit the *Hunley* carved for herself a place in the annals of man. For the first time in the history of the world, a submarine had sunk a hostile warship. And not for fifty years—not until World War I—was the *Hunley's* feat duplicated. For half a century the *Hunley* reigned supreme in history.

Years later, divers found the gallant vessel at the bottom of the ocean, her proud bow still pointed defiantly at the rotting hulk of the *Housatonic*.

A monument stands in Charleston today in honor of the known and unknown men of the *Hunley*, the only tribute remaining to one of the most stirring dramas of human courage ever enacted in American history.

Truth is truth to the end of reckoning.—SHAKESPEARE

Dear American Friends . . .

By Boris Solonevitch

Boris Solonevitch, as a young man, was Chief of the Russian Boy Scout organization for southern Russia and knows his facts intimately. He escaped from a Soviet concentration camp into Finland in 1935, and saw his father and two brothers killed by the Communists. In 1945, because of his efforts to head off western alliances with the Kremlin, he was declared a "Criminal of War" by the Soviet government and his extradition from Belgium demanded. He has been in the United States since 1956, working among other escapee Russians for the liberation of the Russian people from the Kremlin.

We feel it is important for readers to know what analysis a well informed Russian anti-Communist makes of the United States position in the present world crisis.

YOUR "experts" in Russian-Soviet affairs as well as your press are trying to assure you that the Soviet government is splitting apart and an internal revolution is possible there; that time is working for the benefit of the free world.

We Russian nationalists know the Soviet world immeasurably better than the American "specialists". We say this is *NOT* so.

During the last 18 years the Soviets, applying different means, captured Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, a part of Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, a part of Germany, Yugoslavia (according to Tito it will fight shoulder to shoulder together with the USSR),

Czechoslovakia, Manchuria, Albania, China, Sakhalin Island, Kuril Island, half of Indochina and Tibet. Now the Soviets are moving toward the Near East. Which country will be next?

In 1919 only about one-sixth of Russian territory was under the hammer and sickle.

What "success" can the free world claim during the same period? The gains are entirely on the Soviet side.

For military expenses every American paid: in 1929—6 dollars; in 1932—5 dollars; in 1956—243 dollars. There is overproduction in America—but a third of the world is excluded by the Soviets from your world transactions. Arma-

ment grows with a terrific speed. The fifth column is not asleep. USSR gold, acquired at the price of the lives of thousands and thousands of slaves, freely flows into the U.S.A. All conferences on disarmament are sheer nonsense.

"On ne p rit que par la d fensive", said Napoleon, "The mere defensive is doomed to defeat." And defense is the politics of the U.S.A.

REGARDLESS of the peacefulness of the people of America and Russia the Kremlin bosses are outspoken aggressors. How does the U.S. oppose their arrogance? By mere talks while they win time to get ready to strike. American leaders are elected to "prevent" war for the period of their terms. After that?

What is going to happen later on? Can one coexist with a rattlesnake or a virus or a plague? Who can assert that the tragic mistakes of Roosevelt, Truman, Acheson and Marshall will not be repeated? Who can affirm that there are no other Hisses and Whites in Washington?

We affirm: co-existence or containment is a suicide for the U.S.A.; hope for either evolution or revolution in the USSR is a deadly illusion; neither dictatorship nor Soviet socialism is weakening, but steadily strengthening. *Correct and objective information about the enemy is imperative.*

The people of the U.S. and its leaders are actually in a tragic position. All key positions to vital information are in the hands of: either persons able to disguise the knowledge of the question; or of politicians, who are restrained by party power; or of persons controlled by the Soviet Secret Police (who sometimes do not even realize this fact). A war, cold or hot, *without the knowledge of the enemy* and its intentions is bound to be lost by the people of the U.S.A.

We Russian friends of Americans assert that the so-called "experts" and advisers to the U.S.A. government and to the press concerning Russian-Soviet affairs pervert—sometimes involuntarily—the real facts of the situation, and sometimes in accord with the directives of the Soviet Secret Police. The U.S.A. people are told lies by both the press, seeking to please its readers, and government officials, thinking of nothing but electoral votes. (Those who conceal the truth have an easier life in the democracies). Wrong information, in turn, leads to erroneous political actions.

We Russians know by bitter experience that blood is the price of political mistakes; that conflict between the two blocks is unavoidable. The U.S.A. government follows a wrong policy when dealing with anti-communist action and with the Russian question. We

are certain that the actual conflict between the U.S.A. and the USSR is unavoidable. We raise our voice in warning.

The opinions of Americans about the USSR—of Mrs. E. Roosevelt, for instance, or George Kennan and others—are nothing but sand on which it is impossible to build the foundation of a U.S.A. sound policy. The inconsistent and wavering policy of the U.S.A. has already resulted in unsympathetic reaction in the world still free and able to fight and among captured people who want to fight. During Hitler's time we raised our voice against the pro-Soviet mistakes of the American government. We do not wish to offend the U.S.A. To utter this sharp criticism has been forced on us by the foreboding uneasiness for the security of this good country which gave us a place of asylum, freedom and the possibility of making a living.

But we people from Russia who are now good American citizens, cherishing our American liberties, repeat prayerfully: the captive Russian people and the peo-

ple of the captured nations are your *best* allies. We believe that a war between the U.S.A. and the USSR without union with the Russian people is hopeless—the defeat of the U.S.A. is very probable. Therefore make it possible for the millions of Russian people to fight with you to liquidate Communism.

The gains, thus far, are entirely on the Soviet side; time is not working for the still-free world; *the merely defensive is doomed to defeat*; co-existence or containment will bring suicide for the U.S.A. We think that conflict—to the death of one—between the Soviet and the free world is inevitable. The more compromises now, the more bloodshed and wreckage later.

ALL THAT is done by U.S. leaders based on the fallacy of avoiding war with the Kremlin has been an absurdity. The war, we warn again, is inevitable. All America's attention and assets should be concentrated on quickly winning such a war. And time is now against us.

Take Care

Because of the number of small foreign cars frequenting our highways to-day, a new traffic hazard has developed.

The driver of a standard American car returning to his parked automobile found this note attached to his windshield:

"Be careful I'm right behind you.

(*signed*) Austin"

LET'S STOP

BEING ON THE DEFENSIVE

By Dean Clarence E. Manion

former Dean of Notre Dame Law School

KNUTE ROCKNE used to say that, in football, the best way to defend your own goal line was to keep your opponents busy defending theirs. Without an effective offensive, the best you can expect is a scoreless tie, and what you will usually get is humiliating defeat. This principle is equally valid in the arena of domestic and international politics.

Our expensive national defense program is falling apart precisely because it is exclusively, expressly, and even apologetically, "defensive." We announce repeatedly that the most we hope to obtain is an extension of our presently precarious "co-existence" with Communism. In other words, we are playing for a *scoreless* tie with the Soviet conspiracy. What we will eventually get is complete, humiliating defeat by the arrogant Red gangsters.

In the existing all-out two-front war now being waged against us, by Soviet Communism on one side and the forces of World Government on the other, our relentless enemies are *never* on the de-

fensive. The Socialist-Communist-One-World combine is always on the offensive. Between these advancing enemy forces, both bearing the banner of centralized despotism, our freedom, independence and Constitutional government are being steadily choked to death.

It is high time for Americans who love their country, and who devoutly wish to preserve its unique institutions of freedom, to take stock of what we casually call our national defense program. Let us learn a lesson from our enemies and face the hard fact that we cannot *simply defend* ourselves against the Internationalist-Socialist-Communist combine.

An effective defense against this insidious, progressive encirclement of our personal liberty and national independence calls for a bold and continuous *offensive* against every segment of this cleverly coordinated ring of deadly enemies.

To defend America, we must carry the fight into enemy territory and keep it there. The battle lines of Socialists, Communists and One-Worlders are now fabricated into

a strong noose that tightens around us whenever the line is pulled by any one of these apparently separated, but actually coordinated, enemies of the American Republic. We must outflank the Internationalists and launch an all-out offensive against Communism. We must attack Communism *offensively*, continuously and relentlessly. Because Communism is a world-wide network of Kremlin-directed conspiracy, we hit the Communist leaders in the Kremlin every time we hit Communism anywhere.

FIRST and foremost, we must hit Communism in the United States where its immunized native and foreign agents are now undermining our political, economic, educational and religious institutions. To hit Communism, often we must also hit the none the less subversive doctrines of Socialism, which are softening us up for the Communists' *coup d'etat*.

The President's post-Sputnik speeches unfortunately sound no stirring call for such an offensive. He tells us merely to keep our chins up—which is the precisely

proper stance for taxpayers who are about to take it on the chin once more. What he continues to overlook is the fact that Communism is in itself, and of its very nature, a *continuous overt act of aggression* against human nature; that nine hundred million people are presently in the agonies of slavery under Communist tyranny; that the only hope for us is in the early *liberation* of these suffering millions from the ungodly yoke to which we will certainly be subjected unless the Russians, the Chinese, the Poles and the others are soon set free.

Just how blind our policy directors are to this continuing condition of Communist slavery is revealed by Moscow radio's announcement that President Eisenhower sent a cable to the President of the Soviet Union, the Kremlin, congratulating the people of the Soviet Union upon the fortieth anniversary of the Communist takeover of Russia! The President did this, we are told, not only for himself, but "for the people of the United States," which makes you, probably, no happier than it does me.

Philosophy

A traveling salesman, given to garrulity, was checking into a hotel in a small Tennessee city. "What I want to know," he said in loud, belligerent tones, "is whether or not these rooms of yours are quiet."

The manager replied in a serene, slow drawl: "Yes, sir. The rooms in this hotel are real quiet. It's the folks in 'em that are noisy."



THE COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST OUR IMMIGRATION SYSTEM

BY RICHARD ARENS, *Director, Committee on Un-American Activities,
U.S. House of Representatives*

**We must not let the enemy
destroy our first line of defense**

EVERY major issue of international importance must be considered today in the light of one over-riding fact: the Soviet Union controlling one-third the population and one-fourth the land mass of this globe, is at war with us, the one nation in the world that stands in its way of world domination.

It is a war which has already cost us billions of our treasure, the blood of our youth. It is a total war; a political war, an economic war, a psychological war, a diplomatic war, a global war, and it is a war which I—as one who is

*(from his speech before the 66th.
Congress, DAR)*



at a nerve center of anti-Communist work of this government—believe we are losing both at home and overseas.

In this war a first line of defense is our immigration system. Beginning in 1947 a special committee of the Senate, the staff of which I had the duty to direct, began an intensive study and investigation of various immigration systems of the world. In that investigation we were immediately impressed by the intimate relationship between immigration systems and the world-wide communist conspiracy.

We learned, first of all, that, back in 1922, the Communist Internationale in Moscow established an organization known as the International Red Aid, with three purposes: first, the international movement and deployment of communists and those most pliable to communist discipline; second, to fight communist deportations within the various nations of the world; and third, to work in the West among aliens and nationality groups for communist objectives.

Within ten years the International Red Aid had penetrated deeply into 67 countries. They had 83,000 organizations, particularly nested in labor unions, and various subsidiary groups controlled by 40,000 highly placed communist functionaries. They had an aggregate membership of 11,500,000. Within the United States, the American section of the IRA was organized in 1925, known as the International Labor Defense, and this organization developed eight hundred branch subsidiary organizations within the United States—such groups as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, Committees to Save Refugees, and the like—with an aggregate membership of 225,000.

Parallel with this operation the National Groups Commission of the Communist Party established the International Workers Order, Cultural Societies, the American Slav Congress and other units to work among aliens and nationality groups within the United States. They supplemented and implemented this operation by what they call a "united front tactic," namely, to coalesce or work together with non-communist and even anti-communist groups on specific immigration objectives without the revelation of their communist objectives. How successful they were is made evident by a few facts.

IN OUR Congressional study, we received from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, via the Justice Department, an analysis of 5000 of the more militant cases of communists in the United States. Of these, 91.5 percent were foreign-born, married to foreign-born or of foreign parents, and one-half traced their ancestry to Russia or its satellites. We found in the course of that investigation three to five million aliens illegally in the United States, thousands of warrants outstanding for the deportation of communists, criminals and other subversives, and completely unenforceable. We found a complete breakdown in the enforcement of the immigration laws. In New York City alone, for example, in one year's time we found that they had stamped "closed" and filed away without action between 50,000 and 75,000 cases of illegal aliens.

In Miami, Florida, we saw stacked upon the desk of the District Director of the Immigration Service scores of files on cases of foreign subversives, international agents en route to the United States via Cuba. They said, "We can't intercept these people—there is an outstanding order by the State Department that all documentation is waived for all persons coming into this country from Cuba ostensibly for less than 29 days—and we knew there were 50,000 communists then in Havana, alone.

In Washington we asked the State Department about it and they said: "The law says we may waive documentation in certain emergency cases so we gave a blanket order."

We said, "What was the emergency?" and the answer was, "The emergency is the terrific pressure we are under to get people into the United States."

We found communist consulates and embassies in this country to be spy nests. We interrogated officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and of the Department of State and no official, testifying under oath, could recall a single case in which a visa or admission was denied on security grounds to an alien seeking admission to the United States in diplomatic status. Robert C. Alexander, who was then the Assistant Administrator of the passport visa division of the Department of State, testified under oath that the visa office was turning down or recommending adversely between ten and 15 cases a month of *dangerous Soviet agents* who were seeking admission into the United States, but he said, "We are uniformly, without exception, overruled by higher echelons in the Department of State." Within two weeks' time, the State Department empaneled a special commission to reprimand Mr. Alexander, you may remember, for "reckless, dangerous statements."

WE PICKED at random from the thousands of diplomats from behind the Iron curtain in the United States 100 names—just 100 names—at random. We sent them to the Central Intelligence Agency and we said, "Without disclosing to us the sources of your information tell us their background." This was their answer: 32 active in the intelligence service of their respective countries, 29 active in communist organizational work, and 21 in other subversive activities. Out of the 100 names that we sent to them, 85 were in the subversive category; the remaining 15 they said they had no information on.

In the course of a few weeks, Senator Pat McCarran, now deceased, introduced a bill providing that no one could be admitted into the United States whose presence here would jeopardize the public security or safety, irrespective of his status, diplomatically or otherwise. The State Department quickly and vigorously attacked that bill, stopped it cold on the theory that it would "jeopardize our relations with the Soviet Union in our endeavors to build with them a world of peace."

In 1948, while we were still in the process of this study and investigation, the Displaced Persons Act was passed by the United States Congress providing, first of all, for the admission of 200,000 displaced persons. Immediately there was formed a group known as the Citi-

zens Committee for Displaced Persons, which registered on Capitol Hill, with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, lobbying expenditures of over \$1 million. Within a matter of months, the Displaced Persons Act was amended, increasing the number from 200,000 to 400,000; and so we embraced within our Congressional authority a study of the administration of the Displaced Persons Act. We found that notwithstanding the provisions of the law, the Washington Displaced Persons Commission had evolved what they called a "calculated risk" theory, whereby displaced persons would be brought into the United States without any security checks whatsoever.

We brought back from Europe Almanzo Tripp, head of the Immigration Detail in Europe, who placed his career on the line and testified that in his judgment, as a career officer, one-third of the so-called displaced persons coming into the United States were ineligible. We received reams of testimony respecting false documents and other frauds. Within three years the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported: "Approximately twelve hundred displaced persons who have been admitted into the United States have warrants for arrest for deportation against them for fraud or criminal or subversive activities." I will hazard the guess, on the basis of my

intimate experience in the administration of the immigration laws, *that not one* of these subversives has been deported.

After years of drafting and re-drafting, the present Immigration and Nationality Act was finally passed by Congress. It was endorsed by every federal agency dealing with immigration matters and over one hundred nation-wide organizations, including the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Some Senators wept publicly about a "mask being put over the Statue of Liberty." Under this law, however, we are at last establishing a pattern for maximum assimilation and we could begin to screen out the communists and others who would harm us.

THE ACT was passed in June of 1952 to be effective in six month's time, because certain regulations had to be prepared. Immediately President Harry Truman, appointed a "commission" to "study" the immigration law and to report to him before the Act itself was supposed to go into effect. The head of that Commission was the man who had been head of the Citizens Committee for Displaced Persons, the million-dollar Washington lobby; the man who, while he was Immigration Commissioner, went to New York City and accepted the Outstanding Service Award of the American

Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born—after it had been cited as a communist front organization! The Executive Director of that Commission was a man who had been on the Displaced Persons Commission, when the “calculated risk” theory was endorsed pursuant to which displaced persons were brought into the United States without security checks.

A report from this Commission quickly attacked the Immigration and Nationality Act: “In recent years,” it claimed, “an increasing number of visitors have been subjected to denials, difficulties and delays in getting visas. In practically every case, the problem is one of security clearance. The process of security investigation has become more rigorous and time-consuming, and even where the visa is finally issued, the nature of the process may diminish international good will toward the United States.” The report was circulated throughout the United States and reprinted by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, the head of which is Abner Green, International Communist Agent!

THE INK was hardly dry on the Immigration and Nationality Act before the drive began for another law, the so-called Refugee Relief Act. I headed the staff that made the investigation of the refugee situation in Europe. We re-

turned to Washington with the sworn testimony of the top flight U.S. immigration officers and top flight U.S. security officers in Europe, that 40 percent of the so-called “refugees” from the satellites and the Soviet Union were in the subversive or criminal category; 30 percent in Western Germany were either communist agents, sympathizers or security risks; an estimated 60,000 Red agent “sleepers” were in the “pipeline” waiting to come to the United States. We obtained evidence that it would be impossible to screen them out.

But the Refugee Relief Act was passed with 214,000 more to be brought into the United States. The late Senator Pat McCarran, Representative Francis Walter, and Senator Jenner, insisted that we at least have a good man to direct the screening. Almanzo Tripp was designated to head the screening operations and brought to Washington. Within a week’s time I received a phone call from the head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He said, “We just piped into a meeting in New York City of a “liberal” group; a man got up there and said, “We are going to have to have Tripp knocked off.”

Within another ten days I got a phone call from Tripp, himself, and he said, “I just got my orders. I am to be completely removed from the Refugee Program.”

We checked into it and found

that the man who got up in the meeting of this so-called "liberal" group in New York City came to Washington, talked to a government official, who called in the Immigration Commissioner and said, "We have got to get rid of Tripp to keep peace in the family." Tripp was removed and the morale of the immigration screening officers was demolished.

Robert C. Alexander was to head the visa issuing process of the Refugee Program—and how long did he last? Just a matter of a few months. Within the course of another year the Refugee Relief Act, itself, was amended—amended to "liberalize" its own provisions—to broaden the definition of a refugee so that it would encompass anyone, anywhere in the world, who was "outside his homeland." A specific provision was incorporated in the new amendment waiving security background checks. Then, to add insult to injury, the scope of the law was broadened to encompass not refugees but the "surplus population" of Europe, estimated to be 80 million, with a 5 million increase every year.

What of the Hungarian Refugee Program? Here are the facts. On October 23, 1956, there were 600,000 communists in Hungary. That was the day that the revolution broke out. The communists did not stabilize and resume control of Hungary until November 15, 1956. In the interim, the Hungarian Pa-

triot were in control. During that period, over 30,000 people fled from Hungary into Austria. Those who then had reason to flee were from the group of the 600,000 communists. On November 15, the communists had reasserted their control in Hungary. They sealed the borders. Those who came out fell into one of two categories: first, the Freedom Fighters who were able to get through the machine gun nests that were established and, secondly, those *whom the communists wanted to come out*. U.S. security officers have told us repeatedly that it is impossible to screen out the communists and subversives because biographical evidence is not available.

WHAT OF the present situation on the Immigration and Nationality Act? About a year and a half ago Attorney General Brownell came before the Senate Immigration Subcommittee to testify upon what were announced as "moderate revisions" of the Immigration and Nationality Act. He read a prepared statement. It was my responsibility as the then Staff Director of the Subcommittee to cross-examine him. I was amazed to find he didn't know the provisions of the very bills he was endorsing and to which he was lending the prestige of his office. These bills would have *tripled immigration and destroyed the security safeguards of this government!*

The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, requested the opportunity to appear before the Congressional Committee and read a prepared statement lending the prestige and dignity of his office to the movement. But the morning he was to appear, an emissary came from the State Department. "The Secretary of State," he said, "will not submit himself to any interrogation." So I was silenced in my attempts to reveal, by cross examination, the facts respecting the bills which he was supporting and which would have emasculated our protective immigration system.

During the 1957 session of the Congress, on the last day, to a routine bill that was then pending on the calendar, there were suddenly appended a series of amendments. They were not even printed, as is the custom in the Senate. They had not been referred to a committee of the Senate. There was no committee report. There was no record vote, but on the very last day of the Congress they were whisked through the Senate like water through a sieve and sent to the House of Representatives. These amendments would have increased immigration from its normal 230,000 a year to around one million, would have destroyed the "national origins" quota system, and would have emasculated our security screening provisions.

Had it not been for Representative Francis Walter of Pennsyl-

Resolution of The National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1957

Whereas, The House Committee on Un-American Activities has recently revealed that the Communist conspiracy in the United States has created over 180 organizations for the purpose of bringing pressure on the Congress to weaken the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act; and

Whereas, In addition to these Communist-controlled organizations, certain politicians are seeking to solicit the so-called bloc vote of nationality groups by sponsoring amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act which would open the flood-gates, undermine the National Origins Quota System, and remove the principal security safeguards of that Act, and it is imperative that the voices of individuals and patriotic organizations at the cross-roads of America be heard emphatically on this issue in the halls of Congress:

Resolved, That the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution reaffirm its confidence in and support of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, and urge that this legislation be preserved intact.

vania, Chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee of the House of Representatives—who stood firm while the clock was ticking off the closing hours of the House of Representatives—those amendments would now be law.

WHERE does this pressure come from? The House Un-American Activities Committee has traced out, over the 48 States, many organizations created by the Communist Party for the purpose of subverting U.S. legislation. In the field of immigration alone, in the last three years the Communist Party has created, and now controls, in 15 key states, 180 “front” organizations dedicated exclusively to the purpose of creating “grass roots” pressure on the Congress to destroy the McCarran-Walter Act.

We obtained in New York resolutions passed by the recent National Convention of the Communist Party, intent on the destruction of the Immigration and Nationality Act. They have now also persuaded so-called liberals, and a large segment of the innocent public, that their drive is not communist but is simply to “liberalize,”

make more “democratic” and make more “humane” the present U.S. immigration system.

In this campaign they will continue to be very articulate. They can have on Capitol Hill, whenever they press their Manhattan button, 50,000 letters on any subject under the sun, through various groups which they control or influence.

In this campaign, wittingly or unwittingly, they have ready allies in the professional One Worlders and Internationalists and in vote-hustling demagogues who would trade the security and welfare of our Republic for minority nationality-bloc votes. Each major political party today maintains a “nationality commission” for wooing these minority nationality-bloc voters. In the White House, the Secretary to the Cabinet—one of the most powerful men in Washington—has as a major responsibility the interests of the “nationality groups.” If our present Immigration Act is subverted, the communists will have accomplished their No. 1 legislative objective in the United States—the destruction of the immigration system of the United States, our first line of defense.

The conflict emerges as one between (a) Congress (that is, its leaders) on the one hand, grave with concern arising from the knowledge of our national danger; and (b) a Palace Guard tenacious in its hold on power in the Executive Branch.

—From *Human Events*

IN THE MERCURY'S OPINION

By Russell Maguire

IT IS EASY for us at the MERCURY to speak well of Labor with a capital L—of *American Labor*. No nation in the world ever had such a mighty force, either of citizenship or production. The early American guilds and cooperatives worked with physical force or mechanical ingenuity and joined together in mutual respect and for mutual benefits. They were a delight for the workers of all the rest of the world to witness.

That was one of the primary reasons so much of the best Labor came to America. We were *the* one great Republic of Freedom and Opportunity, where the workman of yesterday in the British Isles or Europe could, and often did, become, by his own *free* abilities, the successful American business man.

In the 1930's alien socialism and Marxism, together with the so-called New Deal, undertook to "capture Labor." Labor, by those who schemed to change our American birthrights and Constitutional freedoms, became, in fact, the first target of alien Communism, even before Franklin Roosevelt's invisible Government had a chance to

help enslave it. After alien-promoted World War I, many immigrants came out of Bolshevik Russia and Eastern Europe. The International Workers of the World (IWW), planning riots and strikes, came here hoping to cause a revolution in America. It was Felix Frankfurter who first defended the IWW when they were exposed.

In this sinister scheme healthy native American Labor did not concur. The Labor Leaders of the 1920's fought these alien operators and revolutionists. Able labor leadership steered our hard-working men and women successfully during this period.

In 1933, our patriotic American Labor Leaders learned of a highly organized *international* subversive force *within the U.S.* American Labor Leaders knew that, the year before, Russia had starved to death 10 million laborers in the Ukraine. (Winston Churchill, in Vol. II, confirms this fact.) Later, the Invisible Government used Roosevelt so that, day and night, the U.S. funnelled financial, legal and political strength to Soviet Russia.

Labor was to learn—the hard,

"I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible." —Samuel Gompers.

costly way—that the atheist leaders of Russia were the enemies of American Labor and our way of life. In forthcoming issues of *MERCURY* we will digest this subject in detail.

In America immoral and treacherous labor leadership was promoted. Now, in 1958, there is practically no freedom or liberty left for the workers of our many "captured unions."

THE WORKERS of America know that the notorious labor names, built up by many newspapers and magazines, are not looking after the interests of the American workmen, but have badly abused and regimented labor—and falsely represented them at the bargaining tables.

We have only praise for the rank and file of American Labor. To them we say:

We believe you will take back your freedoms, your rights and the management of your own unions.

Friends of labor believe you need a law—and now is the time for you to force your representatives in Congress to give it to you.

The old Wagner Act virtually voted you into captivity. Now you can force Congress to vote you out of it and return to you your priceless possession—liberty—and the management of your own unions.

You deserve secret, supervised balloting and the clean-cut right to plan your futures.

You should get equal time over your community radio and television stations to state your opinion to offset the doubletalk and lies of the union czars and their stooges who have betrayed you. See to it that your newspapers express *your views* on labor subjects.

THE *MERCURY* will be glad to continue to fight for your God-given right under our great Constitution and Bill of Rights. We are confident that American labor will "clean house."

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BENEFIT OR BURDEN

by Monroe W. Karmin

You'll be paying progressively higher taxes for old age protection you may never receive

An election-minded Congress has returned to Washington this year eager to enact some vote-winning legislation for display at the polls next November. High on the list are increased social security "benefits."

To their dismay, however, the lawmakers find that all is not well within the social security system. For the first time in its 23-year history, the fund last year paid out more in benefits than it collected in payroll taxes. Officials were nonplussed to explain the collection lag. Sizable deficits loom for 1958 and 1959. Only a tax boost scheduled for January 1, 1960, is expected to stem the red-ink trend—and for how long is uncertain.

The reason behind this disturbing development is simple. Congress in recent years has been too quick to expand the social security

program without waiting to find out how much the past increases have cost. Due to this legislative impetuosity, it now seems likely that Federal old age protection in the years to come will take a much stiffer tax bite out of your weekly paycheck than even now contemplated.

Secretary Marion B. Folsom, whose Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers the \$24 billion social security fund, plays down the possibility that social security taxes will have to be raised any higher than now called for under present law. Still, he admits the pension plan is running into difficulties. At a press conference, he said the fund's expenditure and income lines were "crossing a year or two earlier than anticipated."

This word of caution, however,

is unlikely to prove much of a deterrent to vote-hungry politicians. The record speaks for itself. Congress "liberalized" the social security laws in each of the past four election years. Even before the lawmakers left for home last August, the groundwork was laid for this year's mushroom push. Democrats figure to plug for the more sweeping social security increases. Republicans are expected to join the drive but with more moderate proposals. Already the legislative hopper is stuffed with nearly 300 schemes to step-up pension benefits.

Currently, each wage-earner and his boss pay the government $2\frac{1}{4}$ percent of the employee's first \$4,200 of annual income for social security coverage. Self-employed persons kick in 3 percent. By 1975, without any further benefit-padding, this tax bite is scheduled by law to step-up to $4\frac{1}{4}$ percent for wage-earners and $6\frac{3}{8}$ percent for the self-employed.

BY WAY of contrast, social security began its nibbling during the depression 1930s with a 1 percent contribution from employees and employers on earnings up to \$3,000. Back then, long-range pro-

jections foresaw only modest tax increases every fourth year to a top rate of 3 percent for the year 1949 and afterward.

But Congress could not resist the temptation to tinker. In 1939, even before first benefits were paid out, the legislators broadened the program significantly. Monthly benefits were made payable not only to the retired worker—the sole original beneficiary—but also to dependents of retired workers and survivors of deceased workers. Af-

ter World War II, survivors of certain veterans were made eligible for benefits.

Congress moved on a broader front in 1950. Benefits were roughly doubled. Coverage was expand-

ed to bring in many self-employed groups, regularly employed farm and domestic workers, state and local government workers not covered by their own retirement systems, and others. In addition, the retirement test—the amount of outside income permitted beneficiaries if they are to remain eligible for social security—was sharply liberalized. Two years later benefits were again increased, this time by 15 percent, and the retirement test was eased further.

Prior to the 1954 election, Con-

Automatic increases in social security tax scheduled for 1960, 1965, 1970 and 1975 will step up the "bite" to $4\frac{1}{4}$ percent for wage-earners and $6\frac{3}{8}$ percent for the self-employed. The average worker's tax for "security" will be almost as much as his income tax!

gress voted still another 15 percent boost in benefits and once more loosened the limit on outside retirement income. That year, and again in 1956, coverage was broadened until it now includes virtually all types of employment—with the notable exception of self-employed physicians and federal, state, and local government employees who have their own retirement systems.

Also, in election-year 1956, the lawmakers lowered the minimum age, at which social security benefits could be drawn, to 62 from 65 for women workers, wives of retired workers, and widows and dependent mothers of deceased insured workers. That year, too, saw the introduction of a benefit plan for a new group of workers—the permanently and totally disabled.

AS CONGRESS grew more generous by the year, the social security fund, nevertheless, managed to chalk up an unbroken string of yearly surpluses. Today's kitty totals nearly \$23 billion, but the tide has turned. The trouble can be traced directly to at least two of Congress' election-year maneuvers.

The first mistake has to do with farmers. In 1954 self-employed farmers were covered by the social security laws for the first time. It takes two years for a farmer to qualify for benefits, so claims first started coming in last year. They ran unexpectedly high, about two-and-a-half times the original esti-

mate. "There are a lot more farmers, especially old ones, than we figured," explains one social security actuary.

The second error concerns women. When Congress lowered the eligibility age for women to 62 two years ago, it was estimated this change would add about 850,000 women to the benefit rolls during the first year. The forecast proved much too conservative. "They came in a lot faster than we expected," an official admits.

While benefit claims were mounting sharply last year, the fund's problems were complicated further when tax contributions fell short of the mark. Collections were expected to total \$7.3 billion. The actual 1957 figure, as reported by Secretary Folsom, was \$6.9 billion, with benefits paid out in the sum of \$7.3 billion. However, the fund was saved from a deficit for the year by \$555 million interest on its investments in U. S. Government securities. At the end of the year, Folsom said, the fund's assets totalled \$22.5 billion—about the same as a year earlier. Folsom said a 12-member advisory council appointed in October, is studying the long-range financial position of the social security system. Officials fear that the higher outgo may be repeated in 1958 and 1959. However, they expect the fund to "right itself" in 1960 *when social security taxes are scheduled by law to increase!*

Another element of uncertainty

entered the picture last year when checks started going out to the permanently and totally disabled. Instead of waiting until the normal retirement age of 65, Congress two years ago said that, beginning last July, disabled workers would be eligible for benefits at age 50. It's still too early to tell how accurate the advance estimates for this program will prove to be.

In recent years, at least, the actuaries have proven something less than perfect in their predictions. Last year's unexpected outcome is a striking example. This year may turn out to be worse. Originally, the fund figures on taking in \$7.3 billion and paying out about the same amount. It now seems likely that

benefits will climb to \$7.7 billion while contributions will lag at \$7.1 billion.

Next year seems just as sure to prove even more embarrassing for the experts. The original estimate figured on a tax take of nearly \$7.5 billion matched against \$7.7 billion of benefits for a small deficit of \$200 million. Now, the best guess is that income will amount to only \$7.2 billion against an outgo of \$8.2 billion—leaving a whop-

ping \$1 billion red ink splotch.

Nevertheless, social security officials remain unruffled. Secretary Folsom has contended that the fund is on a "very sound basis" and that the huge \$24 billion reserve balance was designed to take care of short-term deficits. Another informed official reassures, "there's no danger; we'll be running a surplus again by 1960."

That's when higher tax rates are scheduled to go into effect. Under present law, payroll taxes will jump one-half-a-percentage-point, and the rate for self-employed persons will climb three-quarters-of-a-point. It's estimated these tax increases will bring in \$1,750,000,000 more revenue, or enough to put

You may deprive your children of many good things of life during their youth in order to pay your social security tax, but if you die a widow or a widower, and all your children are over 18, not one cent of what you and your employer have paid into the tax fund for your social security will be returned to your family, except \$255 or less to whomever pays the burial expense.

the fund back in the black.

Fund managers further argue that the apparent red-ink results for 1957-58-59 are not as bad as they look. The social security reserve fund is invested in securities issued by the United States Government. Officials figure the return on these investments should provide about \$600 million additional income each year. So, they say, the fund's balance will actually decline only in 1959 despite the excess of

benefit payments over tax collections in prior years.

LOOKING into the future, social security officials note present law calls for automatic tax increases not only in 1960, but also in 1965, 1970, and 1975. As these experts see it, the extra revenue generated by these scheduled tax increases should be enough to cover the risk of deficits in all years except the single year immediately preceding each automatic tax rise.

Aside from these years prior to each tax boost, social security contributions are expected to top benefit payments until somewhere in the mid-1980s—depending on employment conditions. By then, when the kitty is expected to total nearly \$75 billion, it's hoped investment income will be substantial enough to stabilize the tax burden on the currently-employed and carry the program into infinity.

Take the year, 2000, for example. The present forecast is for \$21.4 billion of contributions plus \$2.5 billion of investment income to more than cover benefit payments totaling \$22.2 billion. Consequently, the fund's balance that year is expected to edge up toward \$100 billion.

These long-range projections, no matter how well-founded, are precarious at best. For one thing, predictions of future economic levels border on guesswork and any

siege of large unemployment or declining wages easily could throw the social security program out of kilter. As an example, one set of official figures shows that if the nation were to go into a sharp recession, the fund in the space of three years would probably dwindle to roughly \$21 billion. Further declines would mean bigger chunks out of the reserve fund.

Another problem for the crystal-ball gazers is judging the nation's birth rate. Since 1953, there have been more than four million births each year. This continued fertility has been surprisingly high. What if the birth rate falls off? Officials admit such a development could lead to higher social security taxes on the currently-employed.

The social security experts have no way of calculating the vagaries of ballot-conscious politicians. It's true that some 75 million Americans—nine out of each 10 gainfully employed citizens—are covered or are eligible for coverage under today's pension program, and payments go out to 10 million beneficiaries monthly. It's true this scope is far greater than the 35 million insured workers and 200,000 beneficiaries back in 1941, when benefits first started being doled out; but it's also true that Congress still seems bent on finding new ways to increase the cost of social security, if only by fattening up existing benefits.

Somewhat more temperate is

Congressman Robert W. Kean, Republican, from New Jersey. He calls his proposal "moderate" and asks only for an increase in the tax base—not in the tax rate. "We always must remember" he warns, "that any substantial increase in social security benefits must be met by a like substantial increase in contributions"—or else the soundness of the fund will be impaired.

And Mr. Kean offers this striking comparison: "The scheduled social security tax will reach a figure in 1975 that is about all industry and the working man or woman should bear . . . for a worker earning the present average industrial wage in New Jersey, this would mean a social security tax in 1975 of \$178.50 with the same amount, of course, being paid by his employer. For the self-employed in the same income bracket, the tax will be \$267.75.

"When you figure that the wage-earner in that bracket, if he is the average worker with a wife and two dependents, will be paying an income tax of only \$272 a year, if present rates continue, it is a warning that we must stop, look and listen in considering any further benefits which would necessitate a tax rise."

That this warning is worthwhile is incontrovertible. That it will be heeded by the Congress is unlikely.

To most uninformed voters social security means more "benefits." But the evidence shows that Congress acted hastily in expanding social security so rapidly over the past several years. If this legislative recklessness by our Senators and Representatives continues, voters may find that the benefits of old age protection aren't worth the cost.

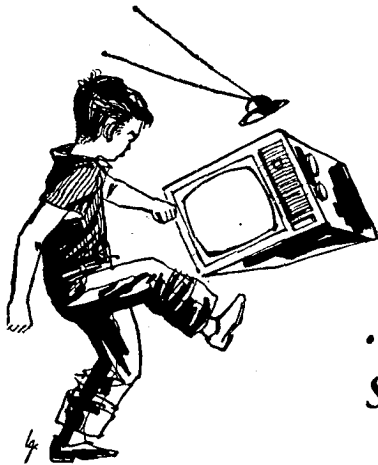
Problems of the Cotton Farmers

The Farm Bureau leaders propose a program of 20 percent larger cotton allotments. This to produce that much more cotton while the soil bank would still be paying for producing less.

They also would want to lower the price support to 75 percent which would still be several cents above the cotton market price. Our cotton could still not compete with the other cotton, nor with our own synthetics underselling our cotton.

In a word, what these farm leaders urge would be just as hopeless as the present policies. It would not recover our lost markets—much less our lost small farmers.

Of the lost farmers—not a word. Which is not surprising. Even among the Farm Bureau leaders, the prevailing idea is that a few million more small farmers should go. The less farmers—the better!—
WALTER MALEC, Editor, *East Bernard Tribune*, Hallettsville, Texas



...and Why Not Spank Children?

by Wayne Kilbourne

ARE YOU annoyed by the rising percentage of spoiled brats among our junior population? Are you concerned over the mounting tide of juvenile delinquency and youthful crime in these United States? Relax. You just haven't grasped the modern viewpoint. You must try to understand the Insecure. For example:

Six-year-old Chester spurts grape soda-pop all over his hostess' new chartreuse drapes. When mama shakes a gentle finger, he kicks in the front of the TV set. What is the matter with little Chester?

If you were in the modern scientific know, you would realize the answer at once. He Feels Insecure. Any child-guidance columnist can tell you that little Chester acts this way because he yearns to be noticed, and he craves

affection. He Just Needs to be Understood and Loved.

Smaller children run when 12-year-old Wilbur approaches, because he likes to twist their arms. Also he throws rocks at passing autos, and last week he set the cat on fire. What is the matter with Wilbur?

Wilbur Feels Insecure. To hide a deep-seated lack of self-confidence, he has to display a certain amount of aggressiveness and domination over others. He Just Needs to be Understood and Loved.

Sixteen-year-old Elmer spends a jolly evening with fellow teenagers, wrecking a public school. They pour ink into desks, smash pictures, crack up plumbing, and turn the premises into a shambles. What is the matter with Elmer and his friends?

They Feel Insecure, of course.

Inner conflicts set up by the uncertainties of these modern times have created emotional tensions to which the youngsters give release in the manner described above. They Need to be Understood and Loved.

Nothing better demonstrates the advances in modern thinking than the broadening attitude toward such cases as the foregoing.

Under the pall of ignorance which enveloped earlier generations, such misunderstood youngsters merely got the living bejabers whaled out of them, and generally turned into decent kids and valuable citizens after learning that tantrums, cussedness and hoodlumism didn't pay off.

But, as the new enlightenment

spreads its gentle glow in more and more of our modern American homes, the infant emperor is scientifically nurtured into a demanding little tyrant whom relatives and neighbors detest. Then his emancipated individuality is carefully kept free to develop into a youthful vandal, a car-thief, a thrill-sadist, or perhaps just into an arrogant boor, too selfish for an enduring marriage.

To appreciate fully such revolutionary social progress, one must first grasp and appreciate the profound psychological discovery that has sparked it:

A spoiled brat is a brat, not because he is spoiled, but because he Feels Insecure. He Just Needs to be Understood and Loved.

Sobriquet for a President

Many are the origins of the nickname by which Andrew Jackson was known for so many years—"Old Hickory."

Some historians state that in his early days as an Indian fighter Jackson was forced to live on acorns and hickory nuts as more nourishing food was scarce at the time. It was then that his followers began to call him "Old Hickory."

However, most students of history accept the following as the source of his somewhat picturesque nickname.

After one campaign in the War of 1812, Jackson, marching afoot with dirty uniform and muddy boots, was seen by his men leading an army of infantry. He had three personal mounts with him, but gave them up so the less fortunate, the sick and the wounded, could ride.

As the General marched by, one admiring soldier stated, "The General is tough." Another added, "As tough as hickory." Later on the prefix "Old" was affectionately added.

The sobriquet "Old Hickory" clung to Andrew Jackson for life.

—DONALD BENTZ

Let the American People vote on a Civil Rights Amendment

Straight Talk About “Civil Rights”

By Tom Anderson

WHAT is the Civil Rights Bill, and what does it mean to you?

“Civil Rights” means that if you’re a Protestant who hires only Protestants, or a Jew who hires only Jews, or a Catholic who hires only Catholics, you can be prosecuted by the federal government. It means you could be forced to hire the same number of Swedes as you do Italians or be punished for discrimination against “national origin.”

It means if you run a dancing school you could be forced to hire a qualified Negro instructor or face

possible subpoena to appear before a United States District Judge (they’re appointed for life by the President) in a distant city at your own expense and prove yourself innocent. It means that if a school, park, public rest room (private homes and clubs are exempt, so far) is de-segregated and you try to interfere or prevent it, you are subject to arrest and imprisonment for contempt of court. It means integration would be enforced by army bayonets and martial law.

Under the Civil Rights Bill the Attorney General of the United States could bring legal actions in your name whether you desire to go to court or not, and the Civil Rights Commission could summon you on 24 hours notice from any part of the United States to any place it might designate to defend yourself against charges of which you were ignorant until you get the subpoena.

Under the Civil Rights Bill now proposed, the Justice Department could get a federal court injunction against anyone who is “about” to take away another’s civil rights or voting rights. If you defied the gov-

Tom Anderson has become one of the most articulate Patriots of the Republic. His highly intelligent Farm and Ranch Magazine, published in Nashville, Tennessee, should be read carefully by every farmer in our land who does not want to be brainwashed, hogwashed, federalized or ploughed under. His is not just a rural Voice of The South, but, we think, the true Voice of rural America.

ernment when it told you you had to hire a "qualified" Negro as your secretary, or as a salesman, or as a lifeguard at the swimming pool, you would be tried on criminal contempt charges without a jury. Civil Rights means perhaps the beginning of the end of state government and individual freedom in America.

That eminent Socialist-turned-Democrat, Walter Reuther, says, "The problem of Civil Rights in the United States is an international issue . . . the key issue in the world."

We must pass Civil Rights legislation, the Reuthers, Harrimans, and Kefauvers profess, to keep Russia from exploiting against us our archaic horse-and-buggy conceptions of constitutional law, trial by jury and other freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Imagine! We must impress Russia, where the only people who vote are the 11 men in the Kremlin . . . where American soldiers with hands tied behind their backs, were "tried" by being machine gunned into a common grave . . . Russia, which has butchered 20 million of its own citizens.

The same liberals whose hearts bleed so profusely for "minority groups" are now trying to kill the right to filibuster, which is the right of unlimited debate unless two-thirds of the Senators vote to cut off debate—in itself a protection of the minority.

THE beleaguered, back-to-the-wall South is not defying the Constitution, but upholding it. The Supreme Court, not the South, is guilty. The Court is guilty of unlawful and unconstitutional judicial and prejudicial tyranny. The New Dealers, Modern Republicans and Crusading Justices are forcing us down the road to a centralized Socialist-labor welfare state, in which individual states and individuals are under the heel of an all-powerful federal autocracy.

Under the Civil Rights Bill an enlarged army of federal bureaucrats will march through Georgia laying waste the Southern way of life and leaving in their wake swarms of "Civil Rights" carpet-baggers to intimidate the people and to supplant local law with federal law. Lower court justices, who hate to be reversed, are already being intimidated.

No court can successfully ban and bury the historic customs and beliefs of a sovereign people. A law cannot be effectively enforced when it does not have the approval and support of a majority of the people. The American people should be allowed to vote on a Civil Rights Amendment to the Constitution if they desire one.

The Civil Rights Bill denies fundamental rights guaranteed everyone by the Constitution: the right to own, manage, and enjoy property; the right of trial by jury; the

right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; the right of appeal; and the rights guaranteed to the people and the states in the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, limiting the federal government to the specific powers, except only those which the Constitution forbade the states to exercise.

We are chasing an alien illusion of "Equality under Socialism" instead of the reality of American freedom under States Rights and local self-government. Many have

been deluded into a fuzzy morality which holds that equality and equal rights are the same thing. "Civil Rights," like Socialism, doesn't level up—it levels down. An all-powerful federal government is a mass denial of freedom.

This land of the free was conceived by our founding fathers to preserve the inequalities of its people by a minimum restriction of their liberties.

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SPUTNIK

After treason in our country permitted many thefts from our vast mountain of scientific knowledge, the Soviets, after seventeen failures, launched Sputnik. (Sputnik, in Russian, means "follows along the way.")

We haven't yet sent up a dog—nor even a Frankfurter—to encircle the earth at great speed but we do and we will continue to lead the world in scientific achievements. We must, however, carefully seek out "the traitors within" who are part of the conspiracy to stampede us into giving up our treasured sovereignty. That's what Kaganovich's front, Khrushchev is trying to sell us. That's why our satellite data has been syphoned to Red Russia. It explains the fact that 16 months ago we had two satellites ready to go into outer space. In March, 1957, in an Alabama warehouse, we had six satellites completed and ready for launching: Subversion is the reason we did not launch one first.

Igor Gouzenko, the Red Army Intelligence Officer and Cipher Clerk, who deserted and then told the West of the many traitors operating in the United States, Canada and England, confirmed the above when he wrote to President Eisenhower:

"The fact that the United States with its advanced scientific and material resources was not able to launch the first earth satellite should be a subject of serious thought and investigation. In my opinion, it indicates the work of well-organized Soviet spy rings in the U. S. missile production system."

Conservative Patriots can Organize!

BY WILL WATSON



IF THE MEN gathered together for the first time in a Dallas, Texas, hotel had issued a progress report of their three quiet years of hard work, it would have contained these facts: Three hundred patriotically dedicated citizens of Texas had established a vigilant *action* organization in each of Texas' twenty-one Congressional Districts, at the basic grass-roots level of political influence. They had, at last, answered a question, repeated so often in many other States, "What can I do to preserve our American way of life?"; they had tested out a patiently constructed plan which had proved, in Texas, to be workable and effective. Hundreds of men and women, young and old, are now at work at carefully learned tasks from one end of Texas to the other in *neighborhood politics*.

One fact, amazing to some, is that this Texas organization's members belong to *both* major political parties, some Democrats,

others Republicans. As a Texas organization they are nonpartisan. The secret ingredient is a philosophical and patriotic platform on which both Republican and Democratic patriots in Texas can unite.

Three years ago the pioneers of this new Texas movement, which you may hear much of as *Freedom in Action*, began holding quiet, off-the-record meetings in every precinct of the State, meeting at first in people's homes or back yards, occasionally in restaurants or town halls. Often as few as five, seldom more than fifty action-hungry citizens attended any meeting. Gradually, as more women heard of the movement the theory of *Freedom in Action* became more openly discussed in Parent Teacher Association and bridge club meetings—over coffee cups, at the grocery, in the beauty parlors. People who never had had any association with political organizations began devoting time to this new State-wide union of men and women who cherished the Constitution of the United States and all of its liberties and rights. They discovered in that

unity of philosophy a brand new force for community-by-community political action.

Don't think these "amateurs" at politics can be laughed off in Texas. They are increasing in such numbers and force of character as to insure their community voices being heard and recorded in the next Texas elections. The little publicized fact that commendation and personal participation have been given and shared with *Freedom in Action* meetings by the three shrewdest Texas politicians—Democratic Governor Price Daniel; H. J. Porter, Texas Republican National Committeeman, and former Democratic Governor Allan Shivers—is very significant.

For the first time in the history of Texas such key leaders have united as participants in a program of not only State but national influence. *Freedom in Action's* Texas asset is that its political philosophy is the only vehicle on which people, long identified with opposite political parties, can unite—to preserve, by *individual* action, our American way of life against all agents or agencies of infiltration or subversion.

THREE years ago a distinguished Texas lawyer, Judge Elwood Fouts of Houston, condensed into a brief typewritten page, years of close observation of socialism's march through the Republic.

We must, he wrote, maintain

our Government as a Republic through the unqualified use of the provisions of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; we must, by action, *use* these provisions from our basic community, State-precinct level.

We must hold inviolate individual freedom and religion, upon which all just law rests.

We must unqualifiedly protect free enterprise, open competition and the incentive motive, which created the nation's wealth and capacity to produce.

We must adhere to the American principles of sound money, frugal economy, taxation for revenue only and a balanced budget as the only protection against cancerous inflation and the loss of security.

We must preserve the Constitutional provisions that all powers not expressly granted to the federal government are reserved to the States and the people.

We must make alert and vigorous *use* of the ballot and the two party political system. We must use ballots first in our home communities, then thoroughly in our State, before hoping to make our ballots important in national elections. We must work for good citizens and against weak or subverted candidates.

The secret of Judge Fouts' formula for political action—and in its six-paragraph pledge which Texans are signing in unpublicized

but increasing numbers—lay in his insistence that *Freedom in Action*, as a State organization, should not engage in any political action but should concentrate on informing and training its members for individual action, as individual citizens, in the party of their choice. "As West Point teaches its young cadets how to fight for their country in military combat," Judge Fouts wrote, "so the *Freedom in Action* organization will teach Texas citizens how to effectively engage in political action, in political battles." In each organization, West Point and *Freedom in Action*, those who have been trained are the participants in subsequent combat, the cadets in military action and the Texas citizens in political action *inside* the political parties of their choice.

Judge Fouts saw clearly that an individual's vote *at his precinct convention* could be a thousand times more effective than his vote in a national election. Why? Because it is the precinct voters who nominate the candidates. Judge Fouts knew, too, that the men and women who consciously and instinctively support the time-honored ideas and the philosophy of Constitutional government are actually the great majority in Texas and in the Republic. "The only problem," he said, "was to draw all such patriotic people together for training and guidance in *using* their votes at every precinct,

county, Congressional District and State opportunity."

When, at the end of 1957, three hundred Texans met quietly in Dallas, much State-wide organizational work was behind them. Directors for each Texas Congressional District had been carefully selected. State GOP Committeeman, H. J. Porter, told the gathered citizens, "We live in an era when organized minorities and segments of our population are running the country because the good people will not go to *work* to defend freedom." Former Senator William Blakely, former Governor Allan Shivers and Governor Price Daniel exchanged advice and commendations. Each district chairman gave the tally of his district's membership and filed hundreds of individual *Freedom in Action* pledges.

AT THE NEXT Texas elections it is safe to prophesy that *Freedom in Action* members will control many, if not all, the precinct conventions—to make sure that at least one candidate who embraces their philosophies is nominated. *Freedom in Action* members, both those who vote as Democrats or as Republicans, are out to make certain that they gain control of a majority of Texas's delegates to the next national conventions—and thus ultimately have a voice in selecting national candidates who will run on platforms embracing

Freedom in Action's Constitutional principles.

IN TEXAS, as in many other southern states, the political future for conservatives and patriots has not seemed too bright. But it is brighter now in Texas than in states where citizens have not done the long, patient spade-work of rooting political vigilance and action into each Congressional District's precincts. You can be sure that in the coming election Texans are going to send some very adamant, uncompromising patriots to the U.S. Congress in Washington!

Freedom in Action continued patiently, quietly and carefully at work in Texas communities until the whole State was linked together in the cause of vigilant Constitutional patriotism. Today anti-socialist citizens do not feel alone or futile. Judge Fouts' *Freedom in Action* can set an example for the aroused citizens of other States, showing them *how* to organize and use their voices and votes to produce better political leadership.

At the base of this Texas formula is one asset that ought to be emphasized. You can't battle the

enemy if you don't know all the enemy's tricks. Texas men and women are fortunate to possess a highly organized research center available in Houston and to have as members of *Freedom in Action* two of the Republic's most competent and informed *fighters* of Communism and socialism. Former Congressman Martin Dies, the first Chairman of the Anti-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives, and Robert Stripling, who started Alger Hiss to jail—in spite of pressure to whitewash the State Department official—are Texans who constantly rove the State to fortify citizen-meetings with usable facts.

The citizens of a State who are trained and who are united with pledged-principles can accomplish victories, in both State and national elections. The eyes of conservative people all across the Republic have been watching Texas and asking "What is Texas going to do about this galloping disease of big and ever-hungry federal government, and its attempt to liquidate one States' Right after another?"

Texans will soon give their answer.

There is increasing evidence that the pamphleteer comes into his own again. Upon the completion of his *Encyclopaedia*, Voltaire observed that the work was of limited use, that it was the little printed book pieces that paved the way to reform and freedom. It is such ammunition and through such a bombardment that a degenerating Republic may return to commonsense and regain its economic, moral and political equilibrium.

—By Clayton Rand
The Road to Freedom

This Is What They Said

► To dismiss lightly the existence of subversive threat in the U.S. is deliberately to commit national suicide. The Russian conspirators smile, then frown: They zig, then zag, but they never really deviate. Bloody revolution is their goal. They regard America as the nation that must be destroyed. As dedicated Americans, we must be eternally vigilant. To be occupied with the dangers of possible atomic destruction and to forget the deadly dangers facing us within is folly indeed.—J. Edgar Hoover. (From a speech at National American Legion Convention, Sept. 1957)

► If we suffer, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he also will deny us.—II Timothy 2:12

► I could not believe in the socialism and internationalism of Eisenhower and Stevenson . . . I never tried to show that either Eisenhower or Stevenson is an evil man; but I did believe (and still do) that their programs of international socialism were evil things for my country.—Dan Smoot

► When we are members of the crowd, we make little forward progress.—Russell Maguire

► Peace has never been gained by appeasement. The latter always brings defeat.—Senator Knowland

► We consider that the United Nations ideal is a Jewish ideal.—David Ben-Gurion (in Time Magazine, Aug. 16, 1948)

► The Enemy is trying to complete a world government through the United Nations.—Kenneth Goff

► Stalin began the greatest subversive work that has ever been known in the history of diplomacy. It was a success not because of military power . . . but because of the weakness of the free world.—General MacArthur

► As a nation we have sinned greatly in giving our precious Christian heritage into the keeping of Christ's bitter enemies; but divine aid is ours for the asking.—Edith Essig

► During the promoted World War II, \$66 million worth of mining equipment was taken over by the Federal Government, presumably to be used in the recovery of other vital minerals. Instead, the equipment was shipped part and parcel to the Soviet Union. This equipment put the Communists in the gold mining business and California out of it! —Major George Racey Jordan

► Nowhere in the Constitution, Mr. President, can you find provision for taxing our taxpayers to do anything for a foreign nation in the way of support or to go to war for a foreign nation unless our security is threatened. . . . Mr. President, if the United States were to fight only when her survival was threatened—which is the only real excuse for war on our part—we would face a long era of peace.—Senator George Malone

► The money being spent on starry-eyed foreign ventures comes in many instances from the hard-earned dollars of American workers, farmers, and businessmen; in fact, from the pockets of every class of Americans. At the same time the nation is rife with the baneful effects of extortionate tax rates, local, State, and Federal, which are steadily lowering our standards of living, eating up the substance of our people, threatening hardship to many families and small-businessmen and destroying the initiative and the spirit of free enterprise, which is the bulwark of our great economic system.—Representative Philip J. Philbin of Massachusetts

► New York is the city of privilege. Here is the seat of that *invisible power* represented by the allied forces of finance and industry. This invisible government is reactionary, sinister, unscrupulous, mercenary, and sordid. It is wanting in national ideals and devoid of conscience . . . this kind of government must be scourged and destroyed.—William Jennings Bryan

► Personal income tax payments in 1956 yielded \$41 billion of the Federal Government's \$75 billion revenues—and 83 percent of that \$41 billion was paid by people who earn \$6,000 a year or less.—Former Gov. J. Bracken Lee of Utah

BRITAIN

VICTIM OF SOCIALIST DECAY

by Derek Sones

Ruinous experiments in state ownership and bureaucratic control have undermined the strength of the British Empire

WHAT HAS happened to the British nation in recent years? How is it possible for England to have fallen so far and so fast without a murmur of protest from the British public?

Countless times these and similar questions have been asked. The answer has always been the same: Socialism.

Occasionally the questioner will protest that this explanation must be incorrect because the Labor party has now been out of office for several years. Unfortunately objections of this kind indicate only the naïveté of the objector. The British "Conservative" party has become infected with the Marxist virus no less than Labor.

"Surely," others will protest, "the downfall of Britain and her Empire has been the result of two ruinous world wars?" Of course, this argument does contain certain powerful elements of truth, but it is

very far from being the complete answer.

Britain has emerged from long and costly wars in the past with her national spirit and the national pride of her people unimpaired. It is a matter of history that the final overthrow of Napoleon by Britain in 1815 at the conclusion of an appallingly costly war of nearly 30 years' duration marked the *beginning* of Britain's vast 19th century Imperial expansion.

At that time Britain was near the verge of bankruptcy. Her resources and manpower had been drained almost to the limit and the nation was rent with internal disputes and economic problems—at one stage during this period the outbreak of civil war seemed imminent. In those days Britain licked her wounds and turned to the task of national reconstruction.

How different was the situation in 1945. In that year a socialist gov-

ernment was returned to power with an overwhelming majority in Britain. The reasons for this were fairly clear—the desire for a “new broom”, born of intense war weariness, combined with Laborite promises to create a socialist Utopia.

THE LABOR party had never made any secret of its Marxist leanings. Indeed, one of the claims made by Labor during the electoral campaign was that a Labor victory was desirable for Anglo-Russian relations on the grounds that Stalin and the Soviets could not fail to be sympathetic towards a government in Britain which was similar in philosophy and outlook to their own.

Clement Attlee, the socialist leader, had had a creditable World War I record as an infantry officer, but afterwards seemed to stray into socialist ways. By 1934 he emerged as a fully-fledged Marxist.

“We have abandoned the whole idea of the national order,” he declared in a speech at the Labor Party Conference of that year. “We mean to put on the Statute Book a law which will make people in this country citizens of the world before being citizens of this country. The Executive has actually abandoned national allegiance.”

The various and repeated doses of socialistic legislation which ensued in the next six years (the Labor party was returned to office for a second term in 1951, though

with a greatly reduced majority) brought the nation to the brink of economic disaster.

Socialism, shored up first by the \$3,750,000,000 U.S. loan of 1945 and subsequent E.R.P. handouts, proceeded to nationalize with a reckless disregard for the consequences. Coal, the railroads, gas, electricity, trucking, the iron and steel industry, the Bank of England and perhaps most important of all, medicine, all fell victim to Britain’s Marxian legislators.

These ruinous experiments in state ownership and bureaucratic control were, however, the less important aspect of socialism. The factor which filled patriotic Britons with deepest apprehension was the effect they and the previous two decades of socialist propaganda and agitation were having on the moral fiber of the people.

For many years before they took office, British socialists had, like all good Marxists, ardently preached the doctrine of the class war. To work hard was treason against “the toiling masses.” The “boss class” must be fought at every opportunity and the ideal was to extract from the “boss” the maximum amount of wages for the minimum amount of work. In the teaching of this philosophy, idleness was a virtue, improvidence was praiseworthy and industry was a vice.

Douglas Hyde, an ex-Red and former editor of the London *Daily Worker* tells in his biography, *I*

Believed, of an incident which vividly illuminates the spirit existing among British laboring men after 20 years of socialist activity among them.

Hyde, in his capacity as a touring communist agitator, visited a factory where a communist trade union organizer had been active for some time. The organizer boasted that he had the men so much "in his pocket" that he could get them to strike over a cup of tea. Hyde, a hardened and experienced bolshevist of many years standing, absolutely refused to believe this.

"All right," said the man. "I will do it today."

He immediately summoned a factory meeting and harangued the workers. The tea provided by the management in morning and afternoon tea breaks was disgracefully weak, he declared. It was an insult to the workers, and they should strike until stronger tea was provided.

The year was 1940. Germany had not yet attacked Russia and the war was still a "capitalist war." Britain stood alone, and while the teenage pilots of the R.A.F., Britain's first line of defense, laid down their lives daily, the workers of a munitions factory laid down their tools for a cup of tea!

Only two years earlier Sir Stafford Cripps, a leading luminary of the Labor party, made a rousing speech.

"The workers of Britain have to-

day an unparalleled opportunity," he declared. "Let them lay down their tools. Let them refuse utterly to make arms."

This was the same Sir Stafford Cripps—a man incidentally, like Attlee and most of the other leading socialists, of enormous personal wealth—who became Chancellor of the Exchequer (Finance Secretary) in the 1945 government.

IT WAS a wartime coalition government dominated by Conservatives which set up a committee under the chairmanship of a leading Liberal, Sir William Beveridge, to carry out, in the words of its Terms of Reference, "a comprehensive survey of social insurance and allied services."

The Beveridge Report was published on December 2, 1942, and recommended what was, in effect, a completely socialist "social security" program. Every phase of life and living, the report recommended, should become an interest of the state. Proclaimed the 4,000,000 circulation socialist tabloid *Daily Mirror*: "be born, bred and buried by Beveridge"—and this comment was literally true. Under the plan the state would pay both the delivery-room obstetrician and the undertaker, and would make provision for almost every possible contingency that could arise between the cradle and the grave.

Such, very briefly, were the recommendations of the Beveridge

Committee which the socialist government made the law of the land.

It soon became clear after the first experiments that "nationalization" was not, after all, the sovereign remedy for all ills. The basic fallacy underlying all socialist economics—that any profit from a nationalized industry can never benefit the public "owners" because it is invariably swallowed up by heavy administrative costs—was missed completely. Socialist theory that nationalization was the only way to achieve what they called "equal shares" was Marxist truth to the socialist faithful. Disillusionment was not long in coming.

HAVING sown the wind, it fell to the lot of the unhappy socialist ministers to reap the whirlwind. Having been taught sloth, the socialist masses saw no particular reason to abandon it merely because their mentors were now their rulers.

The pleas of anguished socialist ministers for harder work and more production fell upon deaf ears. The Labor party was "the party of the working man"—to quote an oft-used socialist cliché—and the workers had no intention of letting "their" government forget it. Did the government want them to work longer hours in the cause of national prosperity? Let the government go on wanting! Did Laborite cabinet ministers implore them to accept wage re-

straint policies? Let them implore in vain! Why should the workers accept, especially when the same ministers a mere decade or so before had been exhorting them on to the destruction of "the bosses"? The "workers" knew that no concessions must be yielded to "the boss class" even though Labor was boss!

If the harsh laws of reality had been allowed to take their course, the British workers' sojourn in the economic daydream would have soon come to an abrupt end with the advent of widespread unemployment. The laws, however, did not take their course. General Marshall appeared on the scene; the British economy was given a \$1,324,300,000 shot in the arm at the U.S. taxpayers' expense. Thus fortified, the government embarked on further adventures in socialism to the still greater demoralization and pauperization of the British nation and the British economy.

For several years before the introduction of socialized medicine, the national health of the British nation had been improving steadily, and this in spite of the dislocation of wartime and trying post-war conditions. British doctors maintained the highest standards of integrity and no needy patient ever went untreated for lack of money.

Thus millions of Britons were covered for hospitalization and medical expenses under a network

of efficient voluntary schemes similar to the U.S. and Canadian Blue Cross projects. Hospitals throughout the country were maintained by public donations, mostly raised in periodic charity drives. All the bigger hospitals enjoyed the services of eminent specialists who gave freely of their time to those unable to pay. Others accepted nominal sums for services for which the wealthier patient would have been asked heavy fees.

With the fantastic waste of the National Health Service, its maladministration and the way it turned Britain's dedicated doctors into harassed bureaucrats overnight we are not concerned. Crass inefficiency and extravagance have always characterized socialism.

The effects of the introduction of the health service were of a profounder nature. Its introduction marked another steep downhill step for the British national spirit, a still further encroachment by the state upon the life of the individual. Most sinister of all was the motive behind its introduction: the socialist hatred of works of service and mercy by individuals. Proclaimed the Labor party's official "Speaker's Handbook" for 1948-9: "Health services hitherto given as a charity will be claimed as a right."

Going hand-in-hand with the Health Service as an instrument of degradation marched the National Assistance Act, passed in 1948. This

Act provided for the establishment in every community of National Assistance Boards, whose function remains the distribution of public money to persons considered to be in need of it, regardless of how the need may have arisen. (It should be mentioned that the blind, widows and the aged had all been receiving state pensions for years before "National Assistance" was thought of.)

NATURALLY, "National Assistance" came as a great boon to strikers. To hoboes and professional idlers it came as even more of a godsend. If a man finds himself unemployed through no fault of his own—including being fired for inefficiency—the state pays him for six months, by which time he is supposed to have found himself work. Should this quest prove unsuccessful (and a man who has no desire to work will do little to commend himself to a prospective employer) his unemployment pay ceases, but he need not fear: in the benevolent providence of the socialist state, he becomes eligible for National Assistance. While all truly enlightened persons must deplore the callousness of the state which insists on his continuing to search for work, while he remains unemployed the "worker" may continue to receive National Assistance payments indefinitely. Soberly, the effect of the National Assistance Act has been damnable. In the last few

years it has been made to serve a new purpose: the support, in some cases for months, of the thousands of immigrants who are pouring into Britain from the West Indies.

Such, in brief, is the sorry story of British socialism. It has been socialism that has eaten into the British soul to foster a host of evils: indolence; irresponsibility, both public and private; and, above all, a burgeoning demand for "security." Gone is the traditional hardihood of the British. Gone is the spirit of self-sacrifice and adventure. Gone are the glorious traditions of service and integrity.

The spirit which inspired the men who carried the British flag to the ends of the earth has receded almost completely. The contraction of the British Empire has coincided with the decline of the British spirit.

The average Briton today demands two things of life: an all-powerful and beneficent state to relieve him of his responsibilities, and mass, organized games to entertain him. Watching the weekly soccer match and completing the weekly soccer-pools coupons have become the principal interest in life of millions of Englishmen. For the masses, spiritual values have ceased to have any meaning. It is all painfully reminiscent of the "Bread and Circuses" dispensed to the citizenry in the declining phase of the Roman Empire.

THE ADVENT of a Conservative government in 1951 (re-elected in 1955), far from slowing the decline, has in some respects accelerated it. Harold Macmillan, the present Prime Minister, and his Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, are both avowed advocates of world government. The Labor government did produce at least one minister who was outspoken in his philosophies—Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary for five years from 1945. The Conservative administration has produced none.

What of the future? It is dark and foreboding but not, perhaps, of completely unrelieved gloom. It seems inconceivable that a nation with such a capacity for genius and endeavor as the British could abdicate from the stage of history without at least some protest.

The years of socialism have deeply overlaid the British spirit, but they have not completely destroyed it. The decay *may* now have gone so far that nothing short of a miracle can snatch Britain back from the abyss. Something like miracles in a nation's hour of crisis have occurred before.

As the few British patriots fight their desperate rearguard action, thoughtful Americans should reflect that their nation, too, could go the way of Britain, and for the same socialist reasons.

Britain's eclipse, if it is not averted, will be a crushing impoverishment for Christian civilization.

A General Says: We Need the Bluejackets

WHEN an army man says naval power is vital to victory, the opinion most certainly is unbiased and therefore doubly cogent.

None other than Britain's Field Marshall Viscount Montgomery is the renowned authority for the latest assertion that, despite missiles, naval supremacy still is necessary to a nation's safety.

Without control of the seas, "Monty" said, a nation "cannot really have much success in war." This evaluation should give abrupt pause to those in the United States who would submerge the Navy in a Prussianized unified military service.

In the Free World—among the nations allied against Moscow's imperialistic schemes for world enslavement—control of the seas rests mainly today with the United States Navy. America's blue-gray ships and planes and her men in blue are the mainstay in protection of the sea lanes that are the life arteries of the free lands.

Stalwart and loyal though they

may be, the smaller fleets of our allies can play little more than a supporting role.

And those ocean arteries must be kept open. If the horror of war comes upon mankind again—and heaven grant that it shall not—missiles may be the opening shot. But in the final decision, it must be manpower, material and food that strike the balance of victory or defeat. And only ships and the men who man them can get the Free World there "fustest with the mostest" to defeat an overseas aggressor.

There is still another vital role for the Navy. This is the Navy's ability, with its elusive "floating bases," to carry planes and missile firepower within *close* range of the enemy. With Russian missiles now able to strike U.S. overseas land bases, the 6th Fleet's importance, for example, in the Mediterranean, has increased, and its mobility is its primary advantage.

Russia obviously knows the tremendous importance of sea power.

It is constantly adding to its own navy. It boasts of the power of its submarine fleet, already numbering 500 undersea craft.

The U.S. Navy must continue to control the seas. Maintenance of our balanced system of armed services, under the American Joint Chiefs of Staff plan, is the

best assurance for continuation of that control. The Navy—all of the services—must be kept free of the dragging anchor of any monolithic armed services command that could—by dictatorial whim—make the fatal error of subordinating one service to another.—From the San Diego *Evening Tribune*.

The Hand of Fate

A thin, dirty-looking fog twisted and swirled through the dingy railroad yard as the packed train puffed slowly away from the Jersey City station one day in 1864. At the last possible moment, a slight figure sped nimbly down the platform and swung aboard. It was Robert Lincoln, son of the President.

There was a sudden jolt, and the lad lost his balance on the narrow, open platform between two cars. Arms threshing wildly, he clawed frantically for a railing that wasn't there. His body teetered momentarily, then started to fall. Directly beneath him the wheels of the car beat a deadly cacophony.

Suddenly, from out of the darkness, a hand shot forward. A tall, handsome stranger grasped the boy by his coat collar and hauled him back to safety.

"Gee! That was a close one!" gasped Robert, when he regained his breath.

The two entered a car and the lad got a closer look at his rescuer. He recognized him immediately, for he had seen him many times on the stage—the man was the most famous American theatrical personality of that day. Robert tendered him his fervent thanks. A week later the valiant actor received a message from the War Department. It expressed official thanks for his presence of mind in saving the life of the President's son.

But fate sometimes moves in mysterious paths. Before the next year had passed, this idol of the theater was doing his utmost to remain anonymous; hidden from the public eye. His family name was in jeopardy, cloaked under a dark cloud of shame and dishonor. Many months were to pass before he again dared to appear on the stage. Yet today thousands of persons view this man's statue each week in America's Hall of Fame in New York. Few, indeed, are those who are aware of the link between his name and Lincoln's.

For it was Edwin Booth, the famous actor, who was instrumental in saving Robert Lincoln's life that day in Jersey City. And it was his brother, John Wilkes Booth, who assassinated President Lincoln.—H. N. FERGUSON

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington, D.C.

I looked into the statement attributed to Mr. Rabinowitz to the effect that no Communist charged with contempt of Congress since the Hollywood Ten has served a day in jail for contempt. I was almost certain that the alleged statement was correct. Mr. Hitz has made a very careful examination of all cases of contempt from both the House and the Senate which have been instituted here.

Out of all the cases of contempt arising in the District of Columbia since the Hollywood Ten cases in 1947, no one has served as much as a day in jail. An exception might be considered in the cases of Herman Liveright and a person by the name of Price; the former was in jail a matter of hours on the day of his sentence, and the latter was in jail a matter of minutes on the day of his sentence. Both were in jail only until their attorneys could perfect their appeals.

No person in contempt of this Committee has served a jail sentence in any district outside of the District of Columbia. I am reasonably certain that this is likewise true as to those in contempt of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate.

The following statistical information relating to contempt cases in the District of Columbia is of interest: Since the citation of the Hollywood Ten in 1947, there have been 81 citations from all committees of the Senate and the House. In addition to these, there were three citations subsequently withdrawn. Of these 81 citations, 31 were from this Committee, 11 were from the Internal Security Subcommittee, and the remainder were from the Kefauver Committee, and others.

These 81 citations resulted in 73 indictments. Of the eight cases in which indictments were not returned, one had died before indictment and seven were reported by the Grand Jury as not a true bill. Not one of our cases were among the seven.

Of the 73 indicted, 43 were acquitted and/or dismissed by the courts—the claim of the Fifth Amendment being the basis of the decisions in 35 of the 43 cases.

The remaining acquittals aggregating eight in number were based on failure of Committee procedure in the light of the decision in the Quinn, Emspak and Watson cases, and such questions as privilege arising from employment by United Nations and lack of Committee authority.

Thirty of the 73 indictments resulted in convictions. Of the 30 convictions, 15 were sentenced to jail, 13 of whom were given probation and two of whom, including Otto Nathan from our Committee, are awaiting sentence.

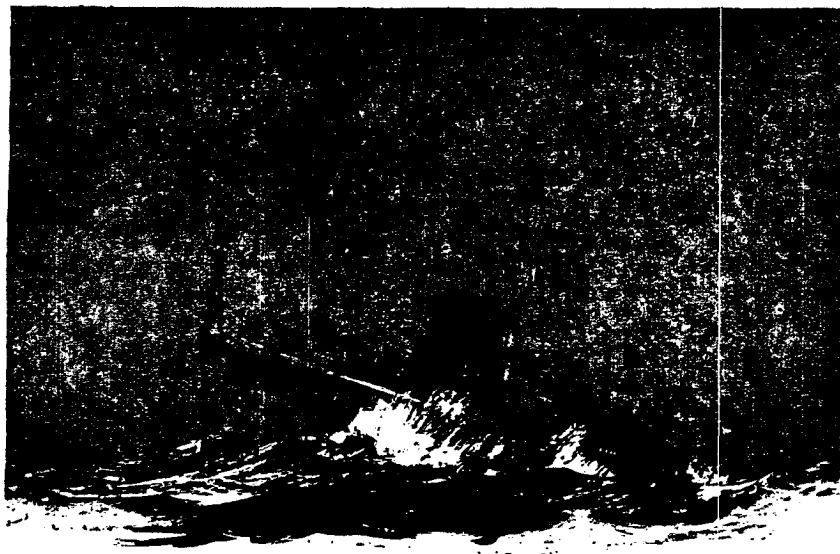
Of the 30 convictions, ten have been reversed and 14 are presently on appeal. Of these on appeal, ten are under jail sentences.

My attention has been called to the fact that two defendants in contempt cases (not involving communism), namely Henry Gruenwald and Timothy O'Mara, actually served sentences for contempt. In the former case, however, the defendant served time because of violating his parole: It was not the intention of the Court that he serve time when sentence was first imposed. In the latter case, the defendant was given a sentence to be served concurrently with another sentence which he was then serving. It can therefore be said that Rabinowitz's statement with reference to Communists actually applies to all persons tried for contempt since the Hollywood Ten.

Who Delayed the Missile Program?

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, on the floor of the Senate, April 25, 1956: "I suggest we set up a committee—to investigate the missile program and to keep a vigilant eye on its progress. If the program is not on an all out basis—find out why; if we are falling behind the Soviet Union in the development of the weapon that may permit communism to conquer us, then we must find out who is responsible and what has motivated those who are responsible."

—From *Freedom Facts*



BY THE BOOK by Cecil Curtis

MY FIRST skipper had a great contempt for the navy. As a seagoing man he was firmly convinced that the entire naval establishment existed for the sole purpose of harassing honest sailors trying to do their jobs. He said as much, often and loudly.

One of the major problems for a naval officer is contending with the mountains of official publications. As soon as a commanding officer—or his communications officer as custodian—signs for publications, he becomes a holder and is responsible for full knowledge of the contents of those publications and for compliance with all instructions contained in them.

The entire system is based on the organization of a ship where there is a staff adequate to handle the various jobs, but ours was not one of those ships.

In September of 1942, after ninety days at Naval Reserve Midshipmen's School in Chicago and thirty days at Submarine Chaser Training Center in Miami, I was ordered to Ipswich, Massachusetts, "for duty in connection with the fitting out of the SC-1289 and duty on board when commissioned." In Ipswich I found a third class yeoman and a third class quartermaster, each with six weeks boot training and four weeks instruction at SCTC, Miami; a first class

gunner's mate with eight years naval service; a chief motor machinist's mate with twenty-four years service; and an ensign, Jack Whitman, who had been at midshipmen's school with me. Jack had done some yachting on Puget Sound.

The skipper, a merchant marine officer with a reserve commission as a lieutenant, had also reported aboard; but we saw little of him during the three weeks that we remained in Ipswich. He spent most of his time in Boston.

The rest of our crew appeared on the day the ship was commissioned. None of them had ever been to sea. A civilian crew from the shipyard took the vessel to Gloucester where the commissioning ceremony was held. The next day we took the ship down to Boston.

The skipper disappeared immediately after we docked in the Navy Yard. For three days Jack and I were busy around the clock seeing to fuel, ammunition, spare parts, arranging for the crew to be paid, scheduling training tours, attending lectures and briefings, working up the ship's organization book, contending with mountains of paper work, riding herd on yard workmen. On the afternoon of the third day I went to the District Issuing Office and drew, as Communications Officer, the standard subchaser allowance of publications—approximately two

hundred and fifty pounds of assorted books and manuals. Considerable haggling got me a carry-all from the motor pool to haul them back to the ship.

BACK ABOARD I found the skipper, fresh from a convoy conference with orders to get underway within an hour. Into the safe went the bundle of publications—unopened. We made frenzied preparations for sailing.

The convoy formed just before dark. It consisted of five merchantmen with three SCs and a PC acting as escorts. The escort Commander was in the PC and the convoy Commodore was aboard a tanker, the SS *Karliner*. At that stage of the war escort vessels were in great demand and short supply. And every available vessel was pressed into service. Even ships like the SC-1289, newly commissioned and carrying a green crew and inexperienced officers, were used for coastal convoys along the route to the base where they were to receive their shake-down training. The amount of protection afforded by such vessels is problematical, but at least the escort vessels received a taste of the kind of work for which they were slated.

When the convoy was properly formed and on station two thousand yards on the port beam of the *Karliner*, the skipper went below. Normally on SCs all three officers

stood watches, but our old man thought that was a bunch of nonsense. Four hours on and four hours off was a reasonable schedule for any man and the Captain didn't stand watches. Jack and I were scheduled for watch and watch.

I HAD the first night watch, 2000 to 2400, and spent a long four hours keeping on station and wondering what to do in case of a sudden emergency. At 2400 Jack relieved me.

An incredibly short time later a seaman was tugging at my blanket.

"Time to relieve the watch, sir."

At 2400 the night had been clear and cold. On deck now I found the ship wrapped in fog.

"Man, am I glad to see you," said Jack.

"You've got the advantage," I told him. "I can't see a thing."

"Well, you won't see much. This stuff closed in thick as molasses about an hour and a half ago. I can see you—I think. And that's about all."

"The old man know about it?"

"Yeah, I called him. He said keep on station and let him know if anything happens."

I stared into the blackness. "Are we on station? How would we know?"

"More or less. We've closed a bit. The tanker's about fifteen hundred yards broad on the starboard

beam. Lookouts can make her out once in a while. We seem to be holding position all right. Same course, same speed, same station, no unexecuted orders."

With a pair of 7 x 50 binoculars I managed after some minutes to detect a blur which I thought might be the *Karliner*. Check bearings from the lookout confirmed it.

"Okay. I relieve you."

Under wartime conditions we showed no running lights and made no fog signals, nor could we expect any from any vessel we might meet. However, there was no time to worry about a possible encounter with other ships. My primary concern was to remain on station. The fog seemed to be thicker and time and again I was certain that we had lost the convoy and was ready to call the captain. Each time, just at the last minute, either the lookout or I spotted the vague blur which was the *Karliner*. The night was endless.

Suddenly a tremendous dark bulk loomed almost alongside. The *Karliner* had changed course and was about to run us down. I ordered the wheel hard over, rang for full speed and prayed. Slowly we drew away. I gave thanks for the swift responsiveness of the agile little subchaser.

For the next half hour we played tag with the tanker in the fog. No course change was ever signalled, but eventually I decided that the course had been

changed a full fifteen degrees left. By daylight, when the fog lifted enough to show that the estimate was right, we were back on station on the new course or at least in proper position relative to the *Karliner*. However, there was no sign of the rest of the convoy. The tanker and our subchaser were alone in a vast gray desolation of water. I called the captain and reported.

"Why did you change course?" he wanted to know.

"Keeping station on the *Karliner*, sir. No course change has been signalled."

"Well, I guess we might as well stay with her. She seems to know where she's going, and who knows where the rest of the convoy is."

A little before noon the lookout reported ships on the starboard quarter. Slowly they closed and revealed themselves as the rest of the convoy. As soon as they were within signalling range, a light blinked from the Escort Commander's PC.

The signalman read out the message: "Where have you been? Why did you leave convoy?"

The skipper was unperturbed.

"I suppose there is a proper answer to that in one of that pile of books the shore-based navy shoved at us. I wouldn't know what it is, though. Send him this: 'I am with Convoy Commodore. Where were you?'"

We never received an answer to that signal.

The *Karliner* steamed along, oblivious to all of us and it took a long time for the convoy to reform around her.

A WEEK LATER when we were in port at Norfolk, I examined the publications which had been stowed hastily in the safe. In one of them I found this paragraph:

"In case a convoy is dispersed for any reason, unless ordered to proceed independently, all ships, regardless of previous station keeping instructions, will make every effort to remain in company with the Convoy Commodore."

I showed it to the skipper. He grunted.

After the war I heard that he had transferred to the regular navy.

Point for a Painter

All during a dinner party, a bore was trying to make small talk with Whistler, the great painter.

"You know, Mr. Whistler, I passed by your house the other day."

Whistler, turning to his boring dinner partner, replied in a cool tone, "Thank you, thank you very much."

—MRS. PAUL GOODYEAR

THE BOOK SHELF

THE DEADLY PARALLEL OF CHINA

By Richard McLaughlin

WILL THE MIDDLE EAST GO WEST?
By Freda Utley. Henry Regnery
Co., Chicago. 198 pp. \$3.00.

WITH the "Beat Russia to the Moon" drive on, and nearly everyone eager for the western world to meet Russia's space-age challenge as quickly as possible, a book on the Middle East may still be useful for us to read. The announcement that the Soviet Union recently granted Egypt a \$175 million loan appears to have created none of the alarm that it would have certainly stirred up last year. Is this not sheer folly, blindness? Freda Utley, just returned from a tour of the Arab states, might even go further and suggest that perhaps all this Sputnik business is nothing but a deliberate ruse on the part of Russia to distract our attention from her plans in the Middle East.

In her book, *Will the Middle East Go West?*, Miss Utley, long an observer of Far Eastern affairs, has drawn a deadly parallel between the Arab Middle East today and the China Far East a generation ago. She insists that we must not underestimate the danger in the Middle East situation. With the memory of our ineffa-

ble mistakes in China before us, she urges us not to repeat the same follies. Nor does she spare the "conservatives," now playing into Soviet hands by, what she calls, their "myopic" attitude toward Arab nationalism, any more than she does those "liberals" who paved the way for Communist domination of China. "More and more, the Arabs are looking to Soviet Russia for support," she says. "It is not an ideology that they seek, but help for realizing their own, non-Communist aspirations, which require aggression and economic aid."

Which way will the Middle East swing? Will it go West or will it turn—in desperation—to the Soviets? America's principled stand on the Suez crisis enhanced her reputation and prestige abroad. "Indeed," says Miss Utley, "I had high hopes that the President's action marked the initiation of a policy that would turn the tide in our favor against the Moscow—Peking axis in the East, both Far and Near." Eisenhower's politically courageous stand on Suez, "stopping Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt" appears to have reawakened the same hopes among the Arabs that had once been raised by Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen

Points. But not for long. According to Miss Utley, Arab enthusiasm for the United States has given way to bewilderment.

If we lose the Arab states to Communism, some of the reasons, she states, are the following: Our efforts to isolate Nasser and to force King Saud into opposition to him; our continued refusal to speak out against Israeli megalomaniac ambitions and for justice to the Arab refugees she has dispossessed; our indirect bolstering of France in her crushing of the Algerian Liberation movement—all these, in Arab eyes, blur the American action during the Suez Canal Crisis.

Not everybody can be expected to go along with the author in all her opinions.

Shrewdly observant, persuasive, provocative, and with a firm use of

her facts, the book is particularly valuable for the background information it provides the layman. However, when it comes to feasible solutions, Miss Utley remains—like most Americans—an idealistic theorist. She feels that “today all France is not worth the alienation of the entire Arab world.” But she fails completely to see that the United States does not want to take on the cause of an “underdog” without support of allies. She does not face the question of whether wooing the Arab States is worth the loss of the cooperation of France and Britain.

Miss Utley has made it plain that we must take into consideration the nationalistic aspirations of the Arabs and that high-handed imperialism in the West will not do. But she leaves many of the tough questions unanswered.

SMEARING TEXAS

RELUCTANT EMPIRE, By George Fuermann. Doubleday Co., New York. 284 pp. \$4.00.

MR. FUERMANN's new book gives us a worm's eye view of Texas. It sees this giant state through a lens which bends constantly leftward.

A Houston columnist, Mr. Fuermann obviously doesn't like the present Texas. From his snappy writing one gathers that he would like Texas if it resembled Mr. Harriman's New York or Mr. Williams' and Mr. Reuther's Michigan. His pages reflect a nostalgia for the egghead North.

Mr. Fuermann has his heroes but they are all men who want to change Texas. He admires J. Frank Dobie, who has spent a life-time out of step with the Texas majority, and who conducted a one-man feud against the University of Texas in 1949 on the ground that it was too 'reactionary.' Dobie is the 'conscience' of the state, Fuermann says. He likes Ralph Yarborough, who slipped through to his present Senate seat thanks to the splintering of the conservative vote among 21 other candidates. He likes George W. Ebey, dropped from the Deputy Superinten-

dency of the Houston public schools in 1953 when patriotic citizens became fed up with the UNESCO indoctrination which he was introducing into the curriculum. His angels are the carping minority who want to remake Texas in the image of the ADA, and the NAACP. His devils are the extraordinary doers whose imaginative leadership has produced the miracle of the Twentieth Century Texas.

The list of his pet hates is a long one. It includes Governor Price Daniel and his predecessor, Allen Shivers. It includes H. L. Hunt, and Clint Murchison and Sid Richardson and the late H. R. Cullen and Alvin M. Owsley and R. G. Le Tourneau. It includes the Baptist General Convention of Texas, with its 1,463,293 members. It includes the *Dallas News*, and the conservative spirit of Dallas in politics. It includes the active Texas chapters of the Minute-women of the U.S.A. It includes the American Legion. Even such middle-of-the-road figures as Senator Lyndon Johnson are damned with faint praise.

Concededly, Mr. Fuermann has written an extremely readable book, but the Texas which he describes does not exist except in the imagination of the debunker. He never strikes the note of objectivity, or even of ordinary journalistic fair play. All his impressive instances are assembled, like a row of selected tin soldiers, to prove his thesis of the evil of Texas conservatism.

This is a picture of Texas as Drew Pearson would have drawn it. It will delight all the South-baiters. But it isn't the Lone Star State.—H. L. V.

BE MY GUEST. By Conrad N. Hilton. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J. \$4.95.

SOMEWHERE in the world, knight-hood will always be in flower and surely, Conrad Hilton with his courtly manner, his adventurous spirit and essential simplicity, is the modern representative of these knights errant of old.

In his autobiography Hilton relates how he invested \$5,000 in a little Texas hotel and went on to become a world-famous hotel magnate playing million dollar "hunches" that enabled him to buy one "great lady" after another: the Plaza Hotel of New York, the Palmer House of Chicago, the ten Statler Hotels . . . and crowning a lifelong dream, the Waldorf-Astoria, "the greatest of them all."

A tall swashbuckling man in a broad-brimmed hat, Hilton expresses his formula for success very simply: "Think big, act big, dream big." But the Hilton manner of dreaming is not wishful thinking or day dreaming, or even that form of revelation reserved for the great—a type of vision.

"What I speak of," he says, "is a brand of imaginative thinking, backed by enthusiasm, vitality, expectation, to which all men may aspire."

And it took plenty of enthusiasm and imaginative thinking to see possibilities in some of the early Hilton hotels, flea bags at best. Looking back at some of these dowdy struc-

tures, Hilton recalls: "Romance blossomed the minute I could see through a frowsy façade to potential glamor—the inherent ability to make money."

After a careful check of a hotel's background, books, location, and asking price, he would go a-wooing despite grime, soot, ragged carpets and sagging furniture. The next step was to induce others of equal imaginative powers to finance his first gift to his "dowager"—a face lift.

Then Hilton would apply his two principles of successful hotel operation:

1. Give employes an *esprit de corps* by developing incentive and pride in their work; 2. Utilize all possible space in the hotel.

Hilton realized the importance of the second principle after acquiring his first "dowager," "The Mobley," in Cisco, Texas. Needing every lodger they could get, Hilton and his associate slept in chairs in their cramped office in order to free more bed space. Hilton recalls his partner carried their problems into the dream world and murmured fitfully in his sleep about having no room but providing a bed "with three *other* gentlemen." With that young Conrad sprang to his feet and prowled about the hotel most of the night making plans. Early the next morning he had 20 beds installed in the diningroom and the surprised room clerk was told his lobby desk would be cut in half to provide room to install a news and tobacco stand.

Later, Hilton was even to make use of waste space in the Waldorf. At one time the four giant columns in the Waldorf's lobby were "phonies,"

decorators items, completely hollow and contributing nothing to the support of the building or stockholders. When Hilton had shiny gold plate and sparkling glass window display cases built into those columns, discriminating perfumers and jewelers fought for the privilege of putting their wares there.

Before he was 18, he had been a clerk, a roving trader, and a minor speculator. He had owned his own produce business and, as his own sole employee, had hoed the corn, watered the vegetables, and then toured the town selling his harvest from door to door. He toured the southwest one summer as theatrical manager of an all-girl musical trio closing \$24 in the red. In the next few years he served in the New Mexico State legislature, tried his hand at banking and became a soldier in World War I. He did not go into the hotel business until 1919, at the age of 31—almost by accident.—E. K. R.

THE HEALING POWER OF FAITH.
By Will Oursler. Hawthorn Books, Inc., New York. 366 pp. \$4.95.

A book on the healing power of faith seeks to explore an unknown force, undeniably a vital one, in the light of what we know of psychosomatics. The noted physician Sir William Osler once wrote an article on the power of faith in the British Medical Journal, in which he said: "Faith has always been an essential factor in the practice of medicine."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, rationalism centered on what

was termed "natural" man. Appeals to the "supernatural" came into disrepute among most of the intellectual leaders. When the twentieth century dawned, the forces of materialism were running high, reaching their peak in the cynicism of the 1920's. The depression of the 1930's, followed by the turbulence of the Second World War in the 1940's, brought turmoil, destruction and terror. Death-dealing instruments became ever more ghastly.

As the world crossed a new frontier, a change in attitude toward the supernatural took place. There was an almost world-wide reawakening to spiritual values. An eager search for God manifested itself. A return of interest in spiritual healing is part of this religious resurgence. "Spiritual healing is not and has never been a technique reserved exclusively to the temple, the church or the sacred shrine," writes the author. "It is primarily a relationship between the individual and God as that individual is able to perceive and accept him."

The author has spent several years discovering facts about spiritual healing or faith healing, both inside and outside our churches. Within the scope of 32 chapters, he gives a description of healing through faith as practiced by Protestants, Catholics and Jews in America and elsewhere in the world. He discusses such subjects as the survey of healings among Protestants made by the National Council of the Churches of Christ; healings at such Roman Catholic Shrines as Lourdes and St. Anne Beaupré; healing services in the Episcopal and other churches; the special approaches to healing of Christian

Science, Unity and New Thought and individual healers, such as Agnes Sanford, Ambrose Worrall, Edgar Cayce, Harry Edwards, Oral Roberts, and many others. A chapter on Alcoholics Anonymous bears the title, "Healers Anonymous." The author summarizes: "Those religions and movements which appear most successful in healing results, and those individuals who appear most successful in healing, have certain characteristics in common, whatever differences exist in creed. All have a recognition of a force beyond ourselves, a benevolent force to which we can turn. All agree that the individual must first of all accept his own relationship to God, in all humility, his own powerlessness before God. All share belief in the force of divine love."

Among the useful features of this book are a general index, an eight-page bibliography, a list of American churches of all faiths with a special interest in spiritual healing, and a list of all healings in the Old and New Testaments.

Mr. Oursler has presented a strong case for the healing power of faith in overcoming sicknesses of body, mind and soul. Written by a capable reporter, it throws light upon a misunderstood subject.—CEDRIC A. LARSON.

RE-ECHO. By Kazuo Hearn Koizumi. The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. Edited by Nancy Jane Fellers. 161 pp. \$10.00.

PUBLISHED in 1957, this is a book that is timeless. Beautifully printed and illustrated, it is and will be, al-

ways, one you would like to give to an exceptional child or to a most favored adult. The author is the son of Lafcadio Hearn, whose works, interpreting the West to the East and the East to the West, have become classics in both hemispheres.

Hearn, part Greek and part Irish, married a Japanese, Selsuko Koizumi, and took her family name. The book is a record of family life and especially of his relationship with his son, Kazuo, the author. It contains many of Hearn's own paintings and sketches, as well as quaint versions of all the favorite stories of children, retold in his simple and beautiful style for the boy, when Kazuo was about ten years old.

Here is inspiration to parents today to rededicate themselves to the training and teaching of their children. It is the story of the loving comradeship of a father and a son—on one side love and intention to guide and form the growing mind and emotions of youth; on the other, love and respect for parental authority and experience.

Hearn was as firm as he was affectionate and in no way avoided his duty to impress on the boy the need for hard work and obedience. Kazuo was taught to apply himself to learning. Once, when the child had been drilled in English until he cried, his father dictated a new lesson for him to write in his copybook: "On the glass shoji of papa's room are little marks like marks made by the trick-

ling of raindrops. These marks are made by the tears of papa's dear little boy. It makes papa very sorry to see them: but every little boy must cry when he begins to learn—and the glass can be washed." How many fathers today would have the courage to exact obedience so firmly, and the tenderness to explain the necessity with so much love?

Kazuo Hearn Koizumi, now in his sixties, lives in Tokyo. He had kept his father's lessons and sketches and his own copybooks, and, on showing them to General Bonner Fellers, who had been a friend of his parents, was encouraged to publish them in a book. Miss Nancy Fellers edited them for him. It is, in the main, a story of his father's part in his education and in his development of awareness of the beauty of life, as he is introduced—by a most individual and unusual mind—to all phases of learning. The son, as gentle and sensitive as his father, says that he has named the book in memory of his father's story of Echo, and that his own work is only a re-echo of his father's.

Lafcadio Hearn has been dead some fifty years, but he lives on in the philosophy of his son, as well as in the works he added to the world's great literature. *Re-echo* is a testament to the son's mature appreciation of the teachings of his father, who so well understood the duty as well as the joy of parenthood.—MAURINE HALLIBURTON.

Success

"Do you think Beverley's book is a success?" said one author to another. "Yes—even people who haven't read it are beginning to say they have."

THE COLLEGE FORUM

We ask the patience, in this issue, of the many aroused undergraduates who have written us important letters as to things seen and heard in their colleges. We will continue publishing undergraduate campus letters next month. But very important, now, it seems to us, is a subject which caused some 600 undergraduates and university alumni to concentrate on the problem at the annual meeting of the National Interfraternity Conference just before Christmas. Their urgent topic was the increasingly subversive threat throughout the Republic against the memberships of college fraternities—against the American Right of a social organization to establish its own social and moral requirements for membership, and to maintain the character of its membership.

College Forum in its February issue gave the high-lights of the campaign of "integration" conducted at Columbia University against Fraternity chapters on that campus, by both subverted students and behind-the-scene faculty powers. Now we think it important to go into the subject in more detail and on the inter-collegiate horizon. This is a threat and a manipulated campaign, out of Manhattan, against all American campuses and all the undergraduates, and alumni, of our higher academic life.

Next year the National Interfraternity Conference will celebrate its

50th anniversary. For fifty years it will have been dedicated and working, through collegiate fraternalism, for the good of American higher education and citizenship. Each year's Conference has been a beneficial forum for the exchange and study of undergraduate facts, problems and philosophies. Each of America's great fraternities regards itself as free, independent and autonomous; each is proud of its own traditions of self-government and self-determination. And each is conscious of a responsibility to solve its own problems and work out its own policies, through its own rules and procedures, its own conventions of representative members, its own elected officers and governing board of trustees. Starting with 27 charter members, The National Interfraternity Conference has grown in respect and academic life to include 61 fraternities—with over 3,250 undergraduate chapters—with an aggregate membership of more than 1,500,000 college men. It is from these men that we are to obtain the future leadership of our Republic; and through them we must hand it down to our grandchildren, and many future generations.

If the American people had been able to read in their newspapers a true, factual report of the Conference's year end, 1957, report and discussions, there would be little need, and no urgency, for MERCURY to give it present attention. But, as soon as

the Conference was over and the fraternal men back home, the discovery was made that an entirely false story about the Convention, its report and its undergraduate and alumni discussions, had been spread to the public. First, the few reporters covering the meeting often sent back twisted or half-truth wire reports to their news services and, second, men on newspaper desks often twisted the "news" from Colorado Springs again, and with false headlines, to suit their various whims. Some of these headlines, read the following week in newspapers far from Colorado Springs, told uninformed readers that: "*Students Try Revolt at Fraternity Parley*"; "*Anti-segregation Move Rejected*"; "*Fraternalities May Open Fight to Keep Discrimination*"; "*Fraternalities Vote on Discrimination*"; and even "*Report Urges Fraternities to Keep Race Ban.*"

In only a very few newspapers did any reporter or desk man point out that the chief object of the Conference's Report on Autonomy was to amplify action taken at the Conference of 1953, in Cincinnati, and to inform all interested in fraternities of what fraternity members believe are their rights—rights under our Constitution, which are enjoyed equally by such other organizations as B'nai B'rith, Masons, Knights of Columbus, The American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution—and to point out to interested people incidences where attempts were being made to limit the right of free association by fraternity men and by what tactics.

"Has the United States come to the point where these things may not be

done," asks a Past Chairman of the National Interfraternity Conference. "Is our press so interested in black, or red, headlines that it will not take the time to read reports which are freely available—and to make at least some attempt at objective news gathering, for the benefit of the people?"

We, at MERCURY, think this is just another example of the basic pattern of brainwashing Americans, institution by institution, as well as community by community. The fraternities of our national life have no more escaped the attention or the planning of our alien enemies and their fellow-travellers than any other sector of our Republic has escaped it—including American Labor.

But the patriotic leaders of the National Interfraternity Conference have given us *their* uncensored side of the fraternity story and here it is:

I

The National Interfraternity Conference in Colorado Springs explored the question: "What is a Fraternity" in relation to the problems of membership. Specifically three items in the report of the Special Committee are of interest: (1) The choosing of one's own friends and associates is a social right which cannot be confused with civil rights and, therefore, is not subject or amenable to edicts, regulations, laws, and legislative fiat abridging that social right; (2) Each college fraternity is a *social* organization, voluntary in membership and, as such, is entitled to exercise its fundamental American right to choose members in accordance with its own standards; (3) The fraternity family

is national in scope and the entire fraternity at its regular convention, through democratic processes, establishes the standards binding upon all of its constituent chapters.

Who would challenge the right of any *home* to select friends and associates on whatever basis the members of that home may determine?

Back of these propositions is the basic evidence that American College Fraternities have, for over a century, progressed and contributed to the Education of college men in the United States and Canada because each consisted of a *homogeneous* group of men, dedicated to *selected* principles and ideals as well as areas of mutual interest. High ideals, usually of a spiritual nature and American Democratic processes are the essence of American college fraternities. Their governing procedures, rituals, rules, and regulations are continually subject to review and change. All are freely elected by the members who subscribe legally and spiritually at the time of initiation into the fraternity.

The fraternity was and still is an intimate social group of persons of compatible background, objectives and interests who may live together in harmony and be mutually helpful in the personal, spiritual, intellectual, and social development that occurs in college. It has supplemented the academic contributions of the college. It has also provided organized liaison between students and the college. It has developed a high sense of pride in *alma mater* and its members rank high in the legion of graduates who serve and support *alma mater*.

The fraternity system has contributed to the development of a very

large section of leaders in American life in all fields. Among the essentials of our fraternal philosophy are the right to be self governing and to establish and maintain ideals, sound financial procedures, suitable management and operation, and the free selection of our members without interference. These are the usual rights accorded all similar American organizations of which outstanding examples are B'nai B'rith, the Knights of Columbus, and the Masons.

The National Interfraternity Conference does not suggest and never has suggested to any of its member fraternities what their membership qualifications should be. Furthermore, the extent to which such qualifications are binding on the campus chapters of a member is and must be determined by those chapters through each fraternity's own democratic processes.

It is to be regretted that there have been organized efforts to restrict these freedoms and it is the proposal of the National Interfraternity Conference publicly to reveal its objectives and programs and also clearly to point out all efforts to restrict or restrain its basic freedoms and rights. Reports on specific instances will be issued during 1958.

II

National Interfraternity Conference Members construe the objective of their program to be to gain recognition by Colleges and/or State Legislative authorities that: (1) The choosing of one's own friends and associates is a social right; (2) each college fraternity is a social organization,

voluntary in membership and, as such, is entitled to exercise its fundamental American right to choose members in accordance with its own standards.

A campaign against the fraternity system attacks membership clauses in constitutions and laws, attacks such clauses in rituals, and in practices, and attempts to introduce laws in legislatures and appeals for a favorable ruling by Attorney Generals. The pattern has been too well set to make the movement in any way subtle. It is either the purpose of the advocates of the campaign to destroy the fraternity system in the United States or so to alter its basic concept, that it will, in effect, destroy itself. Effective work in that campaign has been done among many students. Faculty members and alumni have been used to a distinct advantage and, in most instances, without the semblance of opposition from those who not only see what is going on, but know that it should be stopped. If one side of the story—and that given by men and women well equipped with money and propaganda—is the only side presented, what more can be expected than the adoption of edicts and laws that ultimately will destroy Greek-letter societies? Should fraternal brothers sit idly by and witness campus fraternity deaths, one by one?

The Agenda of the 1957 National Interfraternity Conference meeting provided its delegates with sufficient information to permit each to decide whether he would urge the participation of his fraternity in an active program to defend successfully its rightful American heritage—of *freedom of association*.

The N.I.C. agreed to prepare and distribute to Presidents, Executive Secretaries and Delegates of all member fraternities, a terse, but comprehensive, history of usurpation of fraternities' membership prerogatives by college authorities, and report current status thereof. Participating fraternities will use this report: (a) as a basis for thorough discussion at early meetings of their National and District Officers, at meetings of alumni chapter organizations, and at undergraduate chapter meetings.

The N.I.C. will include in its reports a list of states and colleges now actively interfering with fraternity membership, conditions at each college listed, the names of college officers, trustees and deans with their fraternity affiliations, when known; also, a list of key legislators in these states who are fraternity members, with their affiliations, if possible.

These officers, trustees, deans and legislators will be solicited personally by representatives of the fraternity of which each is a member.

The N.I.C. shall also report during 1958 on conditions at colleges considered to be potential trouble spots, including colleges where fraternities with clauses governing membership selectivity are being banned.

If and when a favorable atmosphere has been created at any given trouble spot among fraternity undergraduates and alumni, among college trustees and administrators in that college, representatives of fraternities with chapters on that campus will meet with representatives of college authorities and trustees to seek a basis for *understanding and cooperation*.

As in all things pertaining to the

fraternity system—or to any other like-minded sectors of American life—unity of action among N.I.C. member fraternities is far more likely to succeed than sporadic efforts by only a limited number of their members fighting alone for their American social rights.

That, we at MERCURY agree, is the *American* way of working to make our opinions effective. We expect the fraternities of the Republic to win out, by this public—not subversive—campaign. The same people, in Manhattan, who were instigators and financiers of our troubles in the South, in our schools and private clubs and hotels, are behind this idealogical and Marxian attack, in all our 48 States, on college fraternity life. They work by stealth, deceptive propaganda, through useful stooges. A large segment of the press of the country has fallen into this trap by publishing completely distorted versions of the purpose of this interfraternity action. Our fraternity men, we know, will fight in the open. We only hope that during the next few months the MERCURY will not be alone in

publishing their facts and their efforts. We hope more and more newspaper publishers and editors will join in. They must, or they will wake up in a not so distant day and find their newspaper and editorial *Rights* have been taken away. College Forum, next month, will print all the fraternity news, whether its fit or not.—ED.

The Princeton "Institute"

The money that financed the inception of the *Institute for Advance Studies*, Princeton, N. J.,—of which J. Robert Oppenheimer, the darling of our leftist internationals, is now top man—came from the Bamberger family. All the top secrets of this organization, including those obtained from U.S. Government sources, are here given to Oppenheimer, and he keeps them in an unusual place: In his large bedroom where a vicious German police dog has been trained to attack anyone approaching the room's "secret" safe.

"Eternal Revenue"

A minister and educator in one of our western states, while paying his income tax, absentmindedly made his check payable to "ETERNAL REVENUE SERVICE". The check cleared through the banks without being questioned and was returned to him as paid.

THE MERCURY FORUM

Forthright letters from angry Patriots pour in to The American Mercury in such increasing numbers that we are tempted to retile The Mercury Forum and call this section "ANGRY LETTERS." Maybe we are returning, in this great land, to the spirit of our founding forefathers when their liberties were being taken from them—when more and more early Americans sought out a printer and had him record their fighting-spirit in little but potent pamphlets. All across our Republic, now, citizens, and many of them overseas, have increasing anger about what is being done to them, and to us as a nation. The hidden government in Washington better not try to laugh them off as "crack-pots". Our letters are from men and women highly respected in their communities who are just fed-up, at last, with this great Republic's internationalist leadership. We say let your ANGRY LETTERS increase. We are going to make sure all your Senators and Congressmen in Washington see them in The Mercury Forum.

We give first place, this month, to a correspondent from a faraway land—old Persia—who honors us with a letter we will be wise to remember:

Dear Sir: I, mad, come from see a film by name "Song of Fury", which show us how poverty hungry American murder somebody for miserable 10\$ in dead man's pocket. I got a big shock. Why American govt. pouring billions American \$\$ in foreign countries and avoids its own poor population who are having commit deadly crime like murder for 10\$ only?

I also read in local paper (I enclose him) that in the mid heart of America live Red Indian so stupid they run away from radio in fright when white man takes radio into Red Indian mudhouse. I say to my-

self, well why America spending millions \$\$ introducing civilization to other nations when they got plenty these Red Indian so backwards in America?

I was wondering that whether am I only person to worry about all this or is there someone else? and then I find old copy of AMERICAN MERCURY here in which glory be I found sufficient matter to say me that you fellows also worry about same thing, have got same feelings as me.

Now what I am going to say maybe you pay attention to. This is bare and solid fact. To prove this I have many proves. Maybe if I show you i.e. American public and govt. a small ray of rightness in my letter then you can decide what to do how, when, and why. At same time I may mention you that I am not some-

body who looks for trouble. I am a friend of American people. I been with plenty nice Americans in last war and we fight dam well I say! Too bad we not keep fighting and kill all enemies I say!

So I say please don't waste American \$\$ too many foreign lands. You been helping my nation enough and our forth coming generation. Now keep some American \$\$ so you can Help poor Americans so they no have to kill for just 10\$. And help civilize backward American Red Indian so they don't think little radio box contain big devil. Nobody in my country frighten of radio. Nobody in my country kill man for miserable 10\$.

You want me write you more later? I be glad to re-paying you for being so good magazine in form of a guide here in my land because I listen, see and know plenty what you cant unless I keep writing you. I very happy be your writing guide this side.

A. R. AHMARI
Radio Eng.
Ahwas, Iran

Yes, dear Mr. Ahmari of Iran, we do want you to write us, as often as you can. Maybe it will do some good if we rush your letters promptly to Washington where somebody in the White House, State Department and the so-called Voice of America (overseas) can read them. ED.

Sir: We in the South appreciate your fairness in relating facts about current issues. The name, MERCURY MAGAZINE, is heard now frequently

among readers who are interested in obtaining the truth and its popularity grows daily.

ADELE RANSON
Monroe, Louisiana

Dear Sir: Regarding interfaith and brotherhood, "they" are trying to put all religions together and emerge with one sole religion. Then—why not have the Metropolitan Opera House, the church choirs, the jazz, the rock n' roll bands all play and blend together? Also, why not unify all of the phonetic languages of the world so we will have a universal language common to all?

Next, a "Melting Pot" of all races so we have no more Blacks, Whites, Browns and Greens. Also, merge all city and State laws into one Federal law for all of the peoples of the Universe. Then, we can experience a uniform *monotonous, heartaching* happiness.

ANTONIO CHIARELLI
New York City

Sir: Re your wonderful cover of the January MERCURY may I tell you what I did to join you in sounding the *alarm* up here in Massachusetts? In compliance with the request of some people here who hold the United Nations to be the cornerstone of the United States, I agreed to fly my flag on the 24th of October, 1957 (the so-called "United Nations Day") fearing, if I failed to comply, some sort of a task force of paratroopers would descend upon me and force me at bayonet point to pay homage to that unholy organization.

But I decided to take advantage

of the fact that no method of display, in honor of the UN was specified—and flew my flag with the Union down, hoping some patriotic citizen, seeing my signal of distress, would come to my aid and help me free our country from the grasp of this dangerous conspiracy. None did.

B. H. PRINCE
Westfield, Mass.

Dear Sir: As I read constitutional law, it is the exclusive province of the Congress, and not the Supreme Court, to define what constitutes a crime against the security of this country. The power of punishing Communists is vested in the legislative branch, and not in the judicial department.

HAROLD W. KENNEDY
County Attorney

Los Angeles County, California

Sir: The Kremlin once depended on what it could steal from us or our "allies", or what stupid Westerners gave them. American B-29's, fighting for the Russian people in World War II, when they became grounded in Russia, were impounded by the Soviets, taken from us and copied. Two German jet-engine planes were *given* the Kremlin, after we had captured them. England sold Rolls Royce Derwent and Nene jet engines to the Kremlin. An American company shipped vital molybdenum for jet engines, supposedly to the British Air Ministry, but somehow—never disclosed—this American molybdenum was transferred in British waters to a ship bound for Russia. Thus today's great "Soviet" jet engines' threat against us was born.

Excuse me for being mad. Red thefts and Western gifts of priceless secrets are back of every great Soviet weapon production, back of their missiles and their satellite moons—while American patriots are urged on and on by stupid Washington leadership into national suicide. And it's these same men in Washington, who are now trying to tag the American people with being "apathetic" or, when it seems to serve Washington's purpose, "panicky". Do they think their words of smear against the *uninformed* and deceived people of this Republic—their calling us "stupid"—will further mislead us and save them from time's finger of scorn—or imprisonment?

J. D. B.

Staunton, Virginia

They may think so, in both their ignorance and their lack of any real knowledge of what Americans, away from New York or Washington, are really like. But they are not fooling as many people as they think. The sands of time's hourglass run out under them. The next time Americans decide on a Washington housecleaning they are going to *arise* and get one. No smiling stooge is going to placate us—next time we vote. No fake party convention is going to get away with "nominating" a candidate up to his ears in compromises and alien entanglements. The more citizens become as mad as you, Citizen J. D. B. of Staunton, the nearer we get to the *action* of Patriots. Ed.

Sirs: Ever since I heard that Fulton

Lewis Jr. is to lose many of his radio stations I have been trying to fit somebody into the picture . . . I am just a small town tax-beaten businessman who has watched this unholy trend with horror. Many times I have thought of putting The MERCURY's articles into spot announcements on our local radio station, with your permission of course, as a patriotic act; I have recommended your magazine to many people in this area even though they cannot find it on newsstands. I hope they take my advice and subscribe to it and that you have your best year in 1958.

H. J. WILLIAMS
Madison, Ohio

Dear Sir: I have had difficulty in obtaining copies of your fine publication, AMERICAN MERCURY, on our local news and magazine stands. Various excuses are given me, such that you do not publish it monthly, only now and then. I finally persuaded one dealer to carry it, but he hid it behind a lot of trashy magazines. Now I am told by this dealer that the MERCURY isn't delivered to Illinois any more. I would appreciate knowing if this is a fact, or is this just another attempt to keep down the sales of your *truly American* AMERICAN MERCURY?

CELESTE W. MOHLMAN
Hinsdale, Illinois

No, friends of MERCURY, that is neither fact nor legitimate fiction. It is subversion. As our subscribers know, the Mercury is published regularly every month and sent into every State in the Republic—

and far overseas—wherever mail men fear neither wind, rain nor snow. But when the subject of newsstand display of MERCURY MAGAZINES comes to us we sometimes feel defeatists: We do not own newsstands. This, being still a free country, the owner of even a newsstand should be free to stock whatever magazines he wants. He can't *make* you buy the editorial and mental trash he may prefer to display, but he can prevent you from obtaining conveniently from his stand whatever magazine he doesn't like—or whatever publication the cabal in Manhattan puts pressure on him not to sell. As soon as our documentation, State by State, is complete we will publish an amazing exposé of the predicament Americans are in, now, when they go to their community newsstand to get a desired magazine.

As to our system of magazine distribution, nationwide, here are the current facts: The AMERICAN MERCURY is printed each month in the old patriotic town of Concord, New Hampshire. From the Rumford Press it is shipped regularly to (1) a professional mailing company which sends out copies promptly to all subscribers and (2) to the company which handles and services all wholesale magazine distributors in the United States. In each city, magazines are distributed to retail newsstands by a diminishing number of metropolitan distributors; in many cases a metropolitan monopoly now exists controlling all magazine non-post-office distribution.

That's where our problem may start, in some cities. Or it may lie in certain retail newsstand dealers. There are instances of patriotic newsdealers who want MERCURY MAGAZINES to sell but can't get them from the metropolitan distributor, or nearest other wholesaler of magazines. There are also instances where metropolitan distributors try to get MERCURYs on all retail stands but individual dealers won't receive them, even though we allow a 90 day full accounting credit for any MERCURY MAGAZINES any dealer hasn't sold.

Thus, we have come to the necessity for shipping direct, each month, the AMERICAN MERCURY to individual newsdealers who want it and can't otherwise get it. In increasing instances we have also joined new metropolitan magazine distributing companies being established—in many cases by Veterans—intent on breaking the monopoly of their communi-

ties by fresh, vigilant competition. All this is a slow process. In time there will be many state laws against conspiracies to restrain any magazine's newsstand sales, just as there are for other types of American merchandise, and for all other kinds of American trade. Perhaps there will even be a new federal law since the distribution of national magazines is very much "inter-State Commerce." We have not been backward discussing this American liability with Senators and Congressmen of our acquaintance, and with many State legislators. If the newsdealer in your community says he can't get the MERCURY promptly, see that his name and address is airmailed to us. When investigations open in Washington and in many State capitals you will learn many things about who is trying to control your magazine reading, by controlling the channels of magazine distribution. ED.

Mercury Bound Volumes

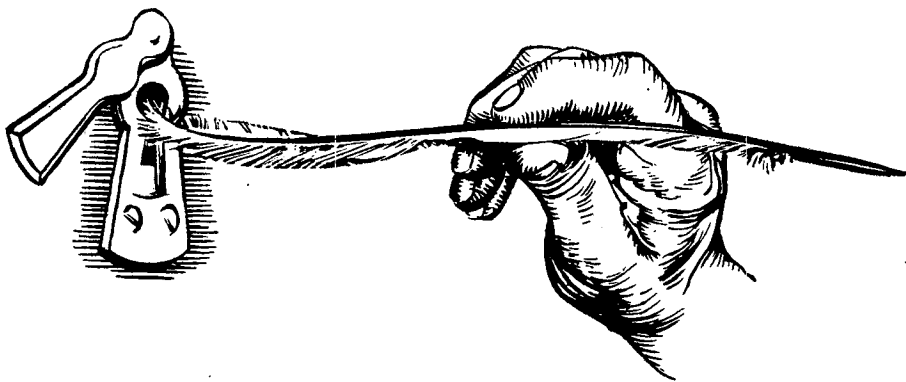
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LEST WE FORGET:

SAMUEL GOMPERS' WARNING

SAMUEL GOMPERS, when president of the American Federation of Labor, sounded a memorable warning, in a speech delivered in Washington, December 5, 1916.

"The introduction," he said, "of compulsory social insurance in cases of sickness, or compulsory social insurance in cases of unemployment, means that the workers must be subject to examinations, regulations and limitations. Their activities must be regulated in accordance with the standards set by governmental agencies. To that we shall not stand idly by and give our assent . . .

"Men and women, I trust I may not be sounding my warnings on the empty air . . . I bid you have a care in all these attempts to regulate the personal relations and the normal personal activities of the citizenship of our country ere it be too late.

"There is," he continued, "in the minds of many, an absence of understanding of the fundamental essentials of freedom. They talk freedom and yet would tie them to everlasting bondage. And no matter how sympathetic or humanitarian is the gloss over the plan and the scheme, I again bid you beware. We know not when or how this great struggle going on in Europe will terminate, or what it shall mean nor the future of those countries; but at least let the people of the United States hold their liberties in their own hands, for it may come to pass that our America, the America whose institutions and ideals we so much revere, may be the one nation to hold the beacon light of freedom aloft and thus aid in relighting the torch, rekindling the heart flame of the world's liberty.

"For a mess of pottage, under the pretense of compulsory social insurance, let us not voluntarily surrender the fundamental principles of liberty and freedom, the hope of the Republic of the United States, the leader and teacher to the world of the significance of this great anthem chorus of humanity—liberty!"—From *The Road to Freedom*